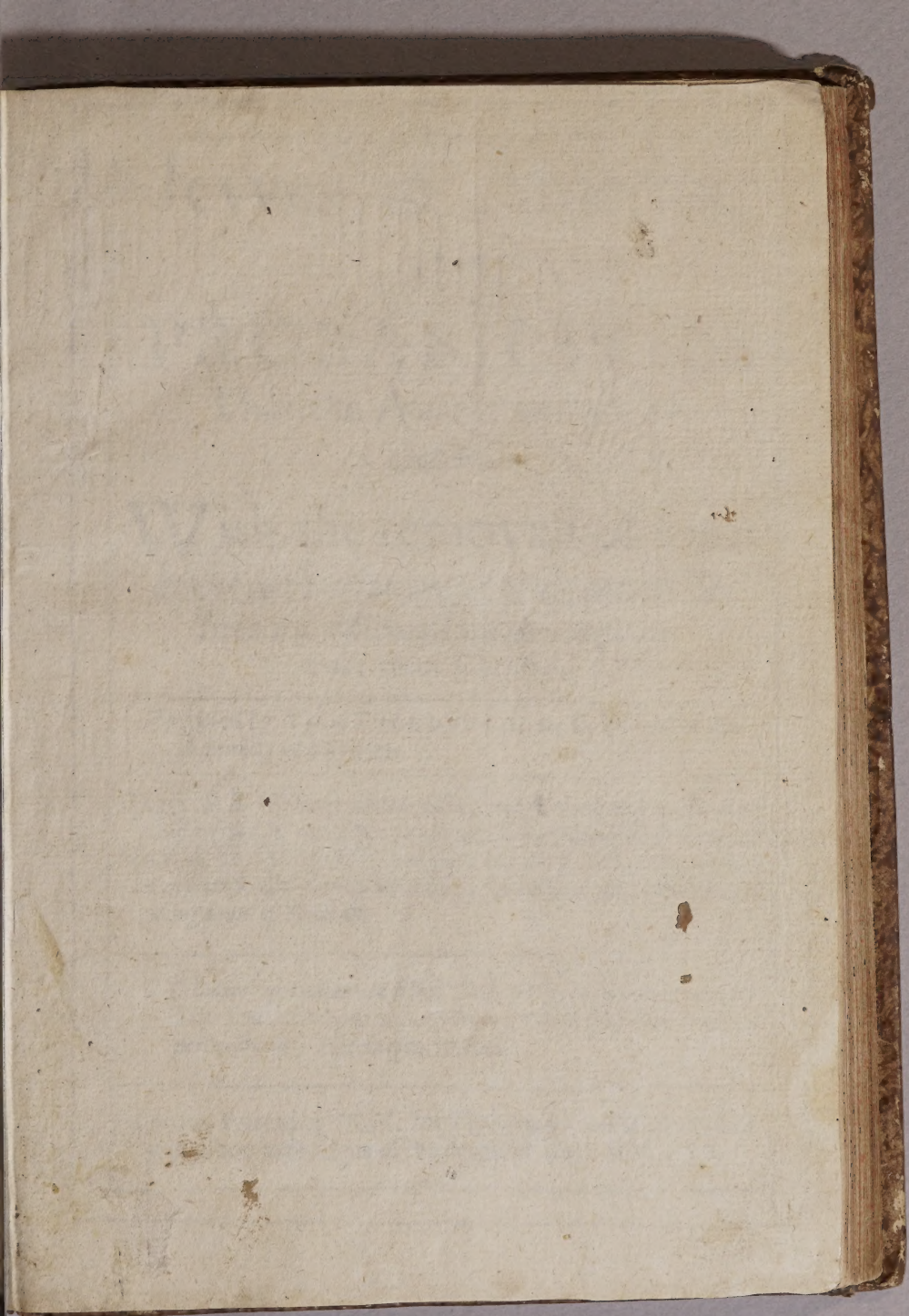




John Carter Brown.



21

leaves in America,
OR,
PROBABILITIES
That the AMERICANS are of
that Race.

With the removall of some
contrary reasonings, and earnest de-
sires for effectuall endeavours to
make them Christian.

Proposed by THO: THOROVVGOD, B. D. one of the
Assembly of Divines.

CANT. 8. 8. *We have a little sister, and she hath no breasts, what
shall we doe for our sister in the day when she shall be spoken for?*
MAT. 8. 11. *Many shall come from the East, and from the West,
and shall sit downe with Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob in the
Kingdome of Heaven.*

*Aethiopes vertuntur in filios Dei, si egerint poenitentiam, &
filii Dei transeunt in Aethiopes si in profundum venerint
peccatorum: Hieronym. in Elai,*

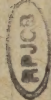
London, Printed by W. H. for Tho. Slater, and are be to sold
at his shop at the signe of the Angel in Duck-lane, 1650.

LOVES IN AMERICA
OF
PROBABILITIES

That the Americans are of
that Race.

It is the removal of some
concurrent reasons, and cannot be
the result of a single reason to

Proposed by Thos. Thoreywood, M.D. one of the
Assembly of Doctors.



And in the year 1800, the first edition of this
work was published in the city of New York, and
has since been reprinted several times, and is now
in the hands of the public.

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in the hands of the public.

TO
THE HONOV RABLE
Knights and Gentlemen that
have residence in, and relation
to the County of *Norfolk*, Peace,
from the God of Peace.

JOHN CARTER BROWN



When the glad tidings of the
Gospels sounding in Ame-
rica by the preaching of
the English arrived hither,
my soule also rejoyced with-
in me, and I remembered
certaine papers that had been laid aside a
long time, upon review of them, and some
additions to them, they were privately commu-
nicated unto such as perswaded earnestly they
might behold further light; being thus fini-
shed, and licenced also to walke abroad, as
(a 2) they

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Laert. p. 381.

they were stepping forth, that incivility charged upon *Chrysippus* occurred, that he dedicated not his writings to any King or Patron, which custome presently seemed not onely lawfull, but as ancient as those Scriptures where Saint *Luke* in the history of the *Acts of the Apostles* applies himselfe to *Theophilus*, *Act.*
Heins. in 2. 1. 1. And Saint *Iohn* to the *Elect Lady*, so named, some thinke, or for her graces so entituled, I was easily induced to follow this fashion, and my thoughts soone reflected upon you, Who are *θεοφιλοι*, as well as *φρονατιδες*, lovers of God, and choice men of your Countrey. I may be censured for this high, generall, and ambitious dedication; but I doe freely publish my own utter unworthinesse: tis true, my respects and love be very much to you all, and my native soile, yet in this I doe not drive any private designe, I looke beyond my selfe, at your honour, the honour of the Nation, yea the glory of God; and the soule-good of many millions that are yet *in darkenesse and out of Christ*; By you is the following tract communicated to the world, I wish, and pray, that the designe bespoken in it may be cordially furthered by you, and all that read or heare there-

The Epistle Dedicatory.

thereof; tis like you will finde in the probabilities so many Iudaicall resemblances in *America*, that as it was said of old, ἡ Πλαγία Hesych. 9

ἡ Πλαγία, ἡ Φίλων Πλατωνίζουσα, either *Plato* writes like *Philo* the Jew, or *Philo* is become *Platonicke*; so the *Jewes* did *Indianize*, or the *Indians* doe *Judaize*, for surely they are alike in many, very many remarkable particulars, and if they bee Jewes, they must not for that be neglected; visible comments indeed they are of that dismall Text, *Thou shalt become an astonishment, a proverbe, and a by-word to all Nations*, &c. *Deut. 20. 37.* and so they are every where to this day: what more reproachfull obloquy is there among men, then this, *Thou art a Jew*? Oh the bitter fruits of disobedience; and tis high time for us Gentiles to lay up that example, *in the midst of our hearts*, *Pro. 4. 21.* remembring alwaies, *because of unbelieve they were broken off, and, if God spared not the naturall branches, take heed lest hee spare not thee. Rom. 11. 21.* It was a suddaine sentence, *Tam viles inter Christianos Iudæi, ut inter mundum triticum mures*, *Jewes are as bad and vile among Christians, as Mice in cleane wheate*; for glorious were their privileges, and we have

*Is. Maj. Hi
Scot. l. 4. c. 9*

The Epistle Dedicatory.

a share in some of them, that last especially----
of whom concerning the flesh Christ came, who is
God over all, blessed for ever, Rom. 9. 4, 5. and
for another thing they have highly merited
our regard---- To them were committed the Ora-
cles of God, Rom. 3. 9. The holy Scriptures
were concredited to them, and they have
faithfully preserved them for us, and conveyed
them to us: Former times indeed found cause
to exterminate them these dominions, I say
nothing for such their reintroduction, which
must be with sacred and civill cautions, that
the *svveet name of our dearest Lord* be not blas-
phemed, nor the Natives robbed of their
rights, but when will Christians in earnest
endeavour their conversion, if the name of
Jerry must be odious everlastingly? I speak for
their Gospelizing, though some suspect they are
never likely to come again under that covenant,
as if the *Liber repudii*, the bill of di-vorce menti-
oned by the Prophet did put them away from
God for ever, *Esa.* 50. 1. as if they should return
to their Spouse no more, but that there is for
them a time of love, and that they shall be grafted
in, Rom. 11. 23. is manifested afterwards up-
on Scripture grounds; and if the period of
their

Ext. Sen. Bib.

L. 2. R. p. 97.

Uet. Comp.

col. p. 197.

rt. 1.

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their wandering be upon its determination, and their recovery approaching, how may wee rejoyce in the returne of that *Prodigall*? It is meet that wee should *make merry and be glad, for our brother that was dead is reviving againe, Luk. 15. 32.* How should wee beg for them that God would poure upon them the spirit of grace and supplication, that they may looke upon him whom they have pierced, and mourne for him as one mourneth for his onely sonne. *Zach. 12. 10.* Or if the lost Tribes are not to be found in *America*, of whatsoever descent and origination the poore Natives be, if they finde the Lord Christ, and the *Nov-angles* be the *Wise-men* guiding them unto their peace, great cause shall wee have to lift up the high praises of our God in spirituall exultation; how should wee cast our mite into this treasury, yea our Talent, our Talents, if wee have them? for certainly the time is comming, *That as there is one Shepherd, there shall be one Sheepfold: Io. 10. 16.* It is true, our owne Countrey in many respects stands in need of helpe, wee are fallen into the last and worst times, the old age of the world, full of dangerous and sinnefull diseases, *Iniquity is encreased,* and if
ever,

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ever, if to any people, the saying of that *Tor-*
rent of Tullian eloquence (so *Ierome* calls *Lactan-*
tius) be applicable, it is to poore England,
that is not onely in the gall of bitternesse,
but in the very dregs of error and ungodlinesse,
Ideo mala omnia rebus humanis ingravescent, quia
Deus hujus mundi effector ac gubernator derelictus
est, quia suscepta sunt, contra quam fas est impie
religiones, postremo quia ne coli quidem vel à pau-
cis Deus finitur. But, O my soule, if thou be wise,
be wise for thy selfe, *Pro. 9. 12.* and give mee
leave to say to you as *Moses* to his *Israell*, *One-*
ly take heed to your selves, and keepe your soules
diligently, Deut. 4. 9. make your calling and ele-
ction sure, *2 Pet. 1. 10.* and because you are the
children of faithfull *Abraham*, command your
children and families that they walke in the waies
of the Lord, *Gen. 18. 9.* and let who will
serve themselves, follow lying vanities, and
set up their owne lusts; let every one of us say
and do as *Ioshua*, *I and my house will serve the*
Lord, Josh. 24. 15. And not onely serve the
Lord with and in our households, but in fur-
thering the common good of others, and tis
considerable God is pleased to owne pub-
lique

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lique interests, though in civill things with the
name of his *owne inheritance*. But this is the
finne, this is the misery of these times, *All seek*
their owne, not the things of Iesus Christ. Even
regulated charity may beginne at home, it
may not, it must not end there, it is the onely
grace that is sowne on earth, it growes up to
heaven and continues there, it goes with us
thither, and there abides to all eternity, and
tis therefore *greater* then faith and hope,
not from continuance onely, but its extensive-
nesse, it delights to be communicative, it
reacheth an hand of helpe one way or other
to every one that needs, though at never so
great a distance ; after the cloven tongues as
of fire had warmed the affections of the holy
Apostles, they had so much love to soules that
they forgot their fathers house, disciplined all
Nations, and preached the Gospel to every
creature, *Their line went through all the earth,*
and their words to the ends of the world, that for-
mer known world, the same spirit hath war-
med the hearts of our Countreymen, and they
are busie at the same worke in the other, the
new-found world ; For *behold a white horse*
and he that sate on him had a bow, and a Crown was

Nehem. 3. 5
2 Sam. 20.

Phil. 2. 21.

1 Cor. 13. 13.

Act. 2. 1.

Psa. 19. 4.

Revel. 6. 2.

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given unto him, and hee went forth conquering,
and to conquer; so the Lord Christ shall be light
to that world also, and Gods salvation to the ends
of the earth. Britain hath woon the Gospel-glory
from all other Countries, not onely imbra-
cing it with the formost, as old *Gildas* testifi-
eth, but it was the first of all the Provin-
ces that established Christianity by a law
saith *Sabellicus*, our *Lucius* was the first Chri-
stian King that *Annales* make mention of, and
venerable *Bede* out of *Eutropius* declareth that
Constantine the first Christian Emperour, was
created to that dignity in this Island, & *Sozom.*
l. 9. c. 11. saith that so were *Marcus* & *Gratian* al-
so; But *Constantine* brought further honour to
the Nation & Religion: For the Saxon *Bede*,
and *Ponticus Virunnius* affirme expressely, that
Constantine was born in Britaine; after this, *inge-*
mut orbis videns se totum Romanum, All the world
wondred after the Beast, & groaned under the Pa-
pall servitude, and our K. *Henry* the eight was
the first of all the Princes who brake that yoke
of Antichrist: but neerer yet to our purpose;
The Inhabitants of the first England, so *Verste-*
gan calls that part of Germany whence our An-
cestors came hither with the Saxons and Intes-

de

The Epistle Dedicatory.

derive their Christianity from Iewry, *Ad nos doctrina de terra Iudæorum per sanctos Apostolos, quidocebant gentes, pervenit*, as that great linguist, ^{Not. in Bed Hist. P. 25.} learned, and laborious Mr *Wheelocke* hath observed, and translated out of the old Saxon Homilies, tis but just therefore *lege talionis*, that we repay what we borrowed, and endeavour their conversion who first acquainted us with the eternall Gospel, and if it be probable that providence honoured this Nation with the prime discovery of that New World, ^{Part. 3.} as is intimated hereafter, it is true without all controversie, that from this second *England* God hath so disposed the hearts of many in the third; *New England*, that they have done more in these last few yeares towards their conversion, then hath been effected by all other Nations and people that have planted there since they were first known to the habitable world, as if that Prophecie were now in its fulfilling; *Behold, I will doe a new thing, now it shall spring forth, shall ye not know it? I will even make a way in the Wildernes and rivers in the desert, &c.* When ^{Esa. 43. 19.} our Ancestors lay also in darkenesse and the shadow of death, *Gregory* wrote divers Epistles to severall Noblemen and Bishops, yea ^{K. Theodoric Theodebert, Clotharins, Qu Brunecild o France, and Aldibert and Aldiberga of England. Con.}

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and to some Kings and Queenes of *France* and *England*, these Sir *H. Spelman* that famous Antiquary, your noble Countreyman, and of alliance to divers of you, calls *epistolas Britannicas*, which are also mentioned afterwards; in these he gives God thanks for their forwardnesse to further the worke of grace, and desires earnestly the continuance of their bountifull and exemplary encouragement of such as were zealously employed in that Soule-worke, and that is one of the two businesses entended in the following discourse, which begs your assistance in your Spheres, and cordiall concurrence to promote a designe of so much glory to the Lord of glory. This is no new notion, or motion, all the royall Charters required the Gospellizing of the Natives; and in the beginning of this Parliament there was an Ordinance of Lords and Commons appointing a Committee of both, and their worke was, among other things, to advance the true Protestant Religion in *America*, and to spread the Gospell among the Natives there; and since, very lately, there is an Act for the promoting and propagating the Gospell of Iesus Christ in *New-England*. I wish prosperity to
all

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all the Plantations, but those of *New-England* deserve from hence more then ordinary favour; because, as by an Edict at *Winchester*, about Holinsh. Ch. part. 1. P. 1 eighth hundred yeeres since, King *Ecbert* commanded this Country should be called *Angles-land*, so these your Countreymen of their owne accord, and alone, were, and are, ambitious to retain the name of their owne Nation; besides, this *England* had once an Heptarchate, Kent, Mercia, West-Saxons, Northumberland, East-Angles, East-Saxons, South-Saxons, and then your Countrey was the chiefe of that Kingdome called *Anglia Orientalis*, and these are the neereſt of all the seven to you in name, *Nov-angles*, *East-angles*; I pray that you would be neareſt and moſt helpfull to them in this moſt Chriſtian and Goſpel-like deſigne, which I leave with you, and two or three Petitions at the throne of grace for you; one is that of *Moses*, *Yee ſhall not doe after all the things that wee do heare this day, every man whatſoever is right in his owne eyes*, but that ye walk by rule and not by example; this is an age much enclining to Enthouſiaſmes and Revelations; men pretend to externall and inward impulses, but wee muſt remember, though wee had a voice from heaven, yet having the Scriptures wee have Biſhopſhips for ſingular uſes a

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Pet. I. 19.

more sure Propheticall word, whereunto yee doe well that yee take heed, as unto a light, that shineth in a darke place, untill the day dawne, and the day starre arise in your hearts; here is a comparison, even with an heavenly voice, which must vaile and submit to the written word, because poore mankind may easily be deluded by him, who among his many other wiles and depths

Cor. II. 14.

can transform himself into an Angel of light. Againe, my prayer for you is, that in the wo-
full concussions and commotions of these daies, your selves may stand firme and un-
moveable: You have seene the waters troubled,

1. 46. 3.

and the Mountaines shaken with the swelling there-
of, Oh, that you may say, in and with holy Da-
vids sence, though an host should encampe against
me, my heart shall not feare, though warre should

1. 27. 3.

rise up against me, in this will I be confident; this?
and what is it, but ver. 1. The Lord is my light
and my salvation, whom shall I feare, the Lord is
the strength of my life, of whom shall I be afraid;
even heathens have said much and done much
towards that *μεγαλοψυχία*, magnanimity and pa-
tience, but Christians have an higher prospect,
they looke above the terrors of men, and they
doe not feare their feare; for as Stephen through

1. 8. 12.

The Epistle Dedicatory.

a showre of stones, they can see the heavens open AR. 7. 56.
and the Sonne of man sitting at the right hand of
God; *nihil erus sentit in nervo, si animus sit in* Tertull.
cælo, they are not so much affected with what
they feele, as with that they believe, because
we walk by faith and not by sight. 2 Cor. 5. 7.

And oh, that these strange mutations may
perswade us all, all the daies of our appoin- Job. 14. 14.
ted time to waite, untill our change come, e-
ven that change which never, never can again
be changed; these are the last times and yet a lit- 1 Joh. 2. 18.
tle while, yea *μικρὸν καιρὸν*, yet a little, little while, Heb. 10. 37.
and hee that shall come will come, and will not tarry,
his fan is in his hand, and he will thoroughly purge his
floore, and gather the wheate into the garner, but Mat. 3. 12.
will burne up the chaffe with unquenchable fire. The Psal. 1. 5.
ungodly shall not stand in the judgement, for all
faces shall then be unmasked, and every
vizard shall be plucked off, The Lord will then 1 Cor. 4. 5.
bring to light the bidden things of darknesse, and
will make manifest the counsels of the heart, and
then every one that hath done well, shall have
praise of God. The Lord God of our mercies
fit you for his appointment, stablish you in every 2 Thef. 2. 17.
good word and worke, and keepe you from evill, 3. 3.
that you may give up your account with joy, and not Heb. 13. 17.
with

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2 Tim. 4. 8.

1 Cor. 10. 32.

with griefe; and now I commend you all, and all that love that appearing of our Lord, unto the word of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them that are sanctified; such is the serious and unfaigned devotion for you, of him who willingly subscribes himselfe,

Your most humble servant

in our dearest Lord,

THE: THOROWGOOD.

The



The Preface to the READER.

Bona domus in ipso vestibulo debet agnoscī saith De Doct. chr. Austin, the port all commonly promiseth somewhat of the house it self, and prefaces be as doers that lei in the Reader to the Booke, and bespeake much of the intention of the writer; you are in some measure prepared already by the foregoing Epistle, with the forefront, and first page: Marcellius Ficinus said of his booke De triplici Vita. *Esca tituli tam suavis quam plurimos alliciet ad gustandum*, The title will invite some to further enquiry; it is in mans nature to be well pleased with novelties, thence later times have had good leave to correct former mistakes. It was written with confidence long since, that the shee Beares did lick their informe litter into fashion, that the young Viper thrusts its Dam out of the world to bring it selfe into it, and that the Swan sings its owne dirige at his dying, all which be sufficiently confuted by after experiences, famous varieties of this sort be daily produced to view, those are curious enquiries into common errors by Doctor Browne. It was said of one contort in body, but of a fine spirit, Animus Galbæ malè habitat, It was a bad house for so good an Inhabitant; many thought so and worse of Richard the third, King of England, till those late endeavours to rectifie him and his readers. that Geographia Sacra is an exact and accurate worke, in respect of the subject and materials, the scattering of Nations at the building

Longg. Sana.
Caletus, Apolog
ad finem.

O'lett. Acad.
21.
P'sud Epidem.

Mr Bucks Hist.

The Preface to the Reader.

ding of Babel, and it may puzzle some mens thoughts, that hee should know so well the places of their dispersion so long since, and yet wee continue ignorant what is become of Gods owne first people, which shall be recovered to him againe, and have not been missing so many yeeres. The Trojan, though now no Nation, live yet in the ambitious desire of other people, clayming from them their descent: The Jewes, once the Lords owne peculiar people, are now the scomme and scorne of the world; Florus calls their glory the Temple, *Impia gentis arcanum*; Democritus another Historian said they worshipped an Asses head, every third yeere sacrificed a man, &c. Others speake spightfull things of them, and their pettegree; only the Lacedemonian King, in that Letter whereof you have a copy, 1 Macab. 12. 20. &c. tells Onias the High Priest. It is found in writing that the Spartans and Jewes are Brethren, and c. me out of the generation of Abraham. The originall indeed of the Jewes is assuredly knowne to themselves and all Christians; Wee have no such evidence for any other people that have now abeing; there is nothing more in the darke to the inhabitants of the severall parts of this earth, then their owne beginnings, and tis thus in Countries of along time knowne to each other, and yet in such disquisition they cannot afford one another almost any light or help; no wonder therefore that the Originall of the Americans is in such uncertaine obscurity, for their very name hath not been heard of much more than one hundred and fifty yeeres, tis a wonder rather that so great a part of the world should be till then *Terra incognita*, notwithstanding the ambition, curiosity, and avarice of mankind carried him into a greedy inquisition after all places and corners where men and beasts abode, or any commodity was to be found: Hieronimus Benzo in his *Nova novi orbis Historia*, so often hereafter mentioned, professeth, that above all things concerning the Americans, his great designe was to finde out what thoughts they had of Christians; touching the Countrey it selfe in the Topography and other particulars, besides drivers mentioned in the following discourse; some have of late done excellently that way: that tis no part of my businesse, which, next to the desire of their conversion to Christ, was, and is, to aske whence they came; and that they be Judaicall, I have laid together severall conjectures

fl. Rom. Tac-
us. Idcos ab
a. 45. Plut.
mp. c. 9.
uidas in
idcos.

l. 2. c. 18. p.
248.
to. de Laet des-
criptio Americ.
dedic. Carolo R.
Britan.
Mr. Castel, Mr.
Bage, &c.

The Preface to the Reader.

as they occurred in reading and observing, to stirre up and awaken more able inquisitors, to looke after the beginning, nature, civilizing, and Gospellizing those people, and to cast in my poore mite towards the encouragement of our Countreyemen in such their pious undertaking; and though some men have spoken meaner things of them in reference to their labours that way, as if they had been negligent therein, such men consider not I feare, how long their Countreyemen have been wrastring with divers difficulties, and busily employing their minds and time in providing outward accommodations for themselves in a strange land, they remember not the naturall perverseness of all mankind to spirituall things, nor with what counterworkes Satan doth oppose the underminers of his Principalities, nor how he hath broken the language of the Natives into severall tongues and dialects to impede their conversion, nor how the Novangles have themselves been broken into divers ruptures, lest they should be at leaseure to further the enlargement of Christs Kingdome upon the spoiles and diminution of his; this was in the purpose of their hearts at first, and now to their comfort they do abundantly see that the Natives are a docible people, who for their contempt of gold & silver, and for some other reasons, have been deemed brutish, and almost irrational; but to what is after written it may be mentioned in this place, that in Mexico they were observed to be wise and politique in government, to the admiration of Christians, yea they were not ignorant in those parts of letters and writing, though in a different fashion from others: Acosta did observe, the Jewes write from the right hand to the left, others from the left to the right, the Chinois or East-Indians write from the top to the bottom, & the Mexicans from the bottome to the top, the Reformed Dominican in his new survey of the West-Indies, tells of a Town as he travelled, called Amatitlan, a Towne of Letters, and of very curious Artifices of their Citizens, of Goldsmiths worke and otherwise, their ingenuity, cunning and courage is marvelously manifest in their lea-
ding a Whale as big as a mountaine, with a cord, and vanquishing him in this manner; by the helpe of their Canoes or little Boats, they come neare to the broad side of that huge creature, and with great dexterity leape upon his necke, there they ride as on hersebacke, and thrust a sharpe stake into his nostrill, so they

l. P. 37.

6. c. 9.

Mr Gage. 1

P. 50. &

Acost. l. 3

call

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call the hole or vent by which they breathe, he beats it in with another stake as forcibly as hee can, the furious Whale in the meane time raiseth Mountaines of waters, and runnes into the deep with great violence and paine, the Indian still sits firme, driving in another stake in o that other passage, so stopping his breath, then hee goes againe to his Canoe, which with a cord hee had tied to the Whales side, and so he passeth to land; the Whale running away with the cord, leaps from place to place in much paine till hee gets to shoare, and being on ground, hee cannot move his huge body, then a great number of Indians come to the conqueror, they kill the Whale, cut his flesh in pieces, they dry it, and make use of it for food, which lasts them long, thus plainly verifying that expression, Psal. 74. 14. 'Thou breakst the heads of Leviathan in pieces, and gavest him to be meat to the people inhabiting the Wildernesse: When, or where, or by whom is this thus done, but by these? who will not now desire, and willingly lend his helpe to cover their naked bodies, and cloath they more naked soules with the Gospel, who, and who alone haue so literally fulfilled that Scripture of our God? But let me commend three other things to thy consideration, that thy affections may be warmed towards thy Countreymen, and they receive encouragement in the planting of themselves, and the Gospel among the Natives.

First, they may be preparing an hiding place for thy selfe, who-
ever, whatever now thou art, thou mayst be overtaken by a
survey. p. tempest, and stand in need of a shelter, and where canst thou be
5. 139. better for sweetnesse of aire and water, with the fertility of the soile,
giving two wheate harvests in one yeare in severall places, yea in
3. 245. some, three, saith P. Martyr, and Books generally speake of that
Land as of a second Canaan: and for New-England you may
believe the relation of a very friend there to his like here, who
mutually agreed upon a private character, that the truth might
be discovered without deceit or glozing, and thus he wrote to
of A.C. him whom he entirely loved. The aire of this Countrey is very
sweet and healthfull, the daies two houres shorter in Summer,
and two houres longer in Winter then they be with you, the Sum-
mer is a little hotter, and the Winter, a little colder, our grounds
are very good and fruitfull for all kind of corne, both English and

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Indian, our cattell thrive much better here then in Old England, Fowle encrease with us exceedingly, wee have many sweet and excellent springs, and fresh Rivers, with abundance of good Fish in them; of a very truth, I believe verily, it will be within a few yeares the plentifullest place in the whole world, &c. I might proclaime, saith Linius, the Inhabitants of that Land happy, meaning the Natives, if they had knowledge of the Creator; so that as parents intending to marry their Daughters well, extend themselves in what they may to encrease their portion, and make way for their preferment, our heavenly Father hath dealt thus with these Americans, enriching them with Gold, Silver, good aire, good water, and all other accommodations for use and delight, that they might be the more earnestly wooed and sought after. P. 168.

And yet further, as he commended his house offered to sale, that it had good neighbours, if thou beest driven thither, goe cheerfully, for thou goest to thine owne Countreymen, from one England to another, New England indeed, witnesse that experienced asseveration of him worthy of credit, who having lived in a Colony there of many thousand English almost twelve yeares, and was held a very sociable man, speaketh considerately, I never heard but one oath sworne, never saw one man drunke, nor ever heard of three women adulteresses, if these sinnes be among us privily, the Lord heale us, I would not be understood to boast of our innocency, there is no cause I should, our hearts may be bad enough, and our lives much better. And yet they have more abundantly testified their pious integrity in serious endeavours to propagate Gospel-holinesse, even to those that be without, their godly labours Christianizing the Natives must be remembered to their praise, they have had long and longing preparative thoughts and purposes that way, and as Saint Paul once to his Corinthians, 2. 6. 11. they have seemed to say O Americans, our mouth is opened unto you, our heart is enlarged, you are not straightned in us, be not straightned in your owne bowels, and now for a recompence of all our endeavours to preach Christ unto you, we aske no more, but be ye also enlarged with gladnesse to receive the Lord Jesus Christ: their active industry in this kind with the successe is now famously visible in severall discourses, which whosoever shall read will be sufficiently contented in his spirituall and.

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Mr. Gage.

Mr Gage pref.
& p.139, & 10

Acosta. Hist.
l. 5. c. 26.

and outward well-wishings to his friends, both of this Nation and the Natives, for the Gospel runs there and is glorified : and here I crave leave to speake a word or two to the Military Reader, the late English American traveller, dedicating his observations upon his journeys of three thousand three hundred miles within the maine Land of America, to the Lord Fairefax, speakes knowingly to his Excellency, that with the same paines and charge that the English have been at in planting one of the petty Islands, they might have conquered so many great Cities, and large territories on the Continent as might very well merit the title of a Kingdom; he shewes further, that the Natives have not onely just right to the Land, and may transferre it to whom they please, but that it may easily be wonne from the Spaniards, and that for these three reasons among the rest. 1. The Spaniards themselves are but few and thinne. 2. The Indians and Blackamoors will turne against them, and so will 3. The Criolians, that is, the Spaniards borne in America, whom they will not suffer to beare office in Church or state; Looke Westward then yee men of Warre, thence you may behold a rising Sunne of glory, with riches and much honour, and not onely for your selves, but for Christ, whom you say you desire above all, and are delighted to honour : In yonder Countries, that the following leaves speake of, non cedunt arma togæ, the pen yeelds to the pike, the first place of honour is given to the profession of armes, and therefore in Mexico the Noblemen were the chiefe souldiers; thus you may enlarge not onely your owne renowne, but the borders of the Nation, yea the Kingdom of the King of Saints. We have all made covenants and professions of reformation at home, with promises to propagate the Gospell of our deare Lord among those that remaine in great and miserable blindnesse, how happy were it for them and us, if this England were in such a posture of holinesse and tranquility, that all opportunities might be imbraced to advance its territories abroad; In the interim I could wish with the most passionate, and compassionate of all the holy Prophets, Oh that my head were waters, and mine eyes a fountaine of teares, that I might weep day and night for the sinnes, and for the slaine of the daughter of my people, Oh that I had in the wildernesse, &c. Ier. 9.1.2. Our Countrey is justly called our mother, whose heavy groanes under

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*under multiplied miseries be heard from a'l places, whose bowels
 doe not sympathize with her, and grieve over her, who is not un-
 willing or ashamed to gather riches or honour from her rents and
 ruine; the Heathen Orator spake affectionately, our parents are* *cic. de Offic.*
*dear to us, and so be our children, alliances and familiars, but the
 love of our countrey, comprehends in it and with it all other dear-
 nesses whatsoever; and in another place, Omnes qui patriam con-* *Somm. Scip.*
*serverunt, adjuverunt, auxerunt, certum est esse in caelo, tis cer-
 taine they are all in heaven that have been lovers and conservators
 of their Countrey; and when heathenish Babylon was the place of
 Israels exile, they are commanded by God himselfe, to seeke the
 peace of the City whether they were carried, and pray unto the
 Lord for it, Jer. 29.7. It is recorded to the honour of Mordecai,
 that he sought the wealth of his people, Esth. 10.3. the contra-
 ry to this entailes ignominy to men and their posterity, by the book
 of Gods own heraldry, Esa. 14.20. Thou shalt not be joyned with
 them in buriall, because thou hast destroyed thy land, and slaine
 thy people, the seed of evill doers shall never be renowned;
 for that Judge judged righteously: In a civill warre there is no
 true victory, inasmuch as he that prevailerth is also a loser. But
 I returne, and reinvite to peruse these probabilities, and if they
 like not, because they are no more but guesses and conjectures, yet
 the requests I hope shall be listened unto, for they aime at Gods
 glory and mans salvation, and nothing else; and surely the poore
 Natives will not be a little encouraged to looke after the glorious
 Gospel of Christ, when they shall understand that not onely the
 English among them, but wee all here are daily tutors for them
 at the throne of grace, so that we may say as Paul to the Romans,
 1.9. God is our witnesse, whom wee serve with our spirit in
 the Gospel of his Sonne, that without ceasing wee make men-
 tion of them alwaies in our prayers; Mr. Elliot whose praise is
 now through all our Churches, 2 Cor. 8. 18. deserves publique
 encouragement from hence, besides those sprinklings of an Aposto-
 licall spirit received from heaven, by which in an high and holy
 ambition he preacheth the Gospell where Christ had not been
 named, Rom. 15. 20. such another *ισχυρος ενισχυος*, like-min-
 ded soule-lover is not readily to be found, that naturally careth
 for their matters, Phil. 2. 20. regarding the Indians as if they
 were his owne charge and children, and as God hath furnished
 him*

*Sir Is. Dadr.
 Hist of Princ
 of Wales. p. 2*

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him with ministeriall and spirituall abilities for the worke. I wish that he and his com-Fresbyters and companions in that labour, might be supplied with all externall accomodations, to further the civilizing, and Gospellizing of the Americans.

And now we thinke I heare thee say also, Oh that the day breaking of the Gospel there, might be the way of Saints, even the path of the just, as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day, Pro. 4. 18. and oh that all our Nation here and there, would forbear all other strivings, being ashamed and afraid lest their woefull quarrels be told in Gath, and published in the streets of Ascalon, to the prejudice of the Gospels progresse here and there and every where; Erasmus felt what he said of the differences in his time, Tragediæ Lutheranae mihi ipsi etiam calculo molestiores, and who laments not the woefull tearings of our Nation? who bewailes not to see the breakings of the sheeppfold? who mournes not to heare the strange bleeting of the flocks? and what soule is not grieved for the great divisions of England? and let me wish once more, Oh that all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, would study to speake the same things, and that all would be perfectly joynd together in the same minde, and in the same judgement, 1 Cor. 1. 10. converting all their tongue-combats, and pen-contentions into an earnest contending, that the faith once delivered to the Saints (Jud. 3.) might be preserved whole, holy, and entire among themselves, and be with like holinesse and integrity communicated to the Indians, that doe now so much hunger and thirst after that righteousness of our most deare Lord and Master Christ; let us all with our tongues, purses, pens, counsels, and prayers, promote this worke of God with one shoulder and consent: there be among us here that have had this in their daily devotions more then twenty yeates, which is mentioned to no other end but from desire to call in thy helpe also; I will take leave by commanding to thy practice the imitation of learned and holy Theod. Beza in his daily prayer for the Iewes, Lord Iesus thou dost justly avenge the contempt of thy selfe, and that ingratefull people is worthy of thy most severe indignation; but, Lord, remember thy covenant, and for thy names sake be favourable to those miserable wretches, and to us the most unworthy of all men, unto whom thou hast vouchsafed thy mercy, bestow this goodnesse also, that we may grow in thy grace, that we be not instruments of thy wrath against them, but rather, both by the knowledg of thy word, and by the examples of holy life, we may, by the assistance and vertue of thy holy Spirit, reduce them into the right way, that thou mayst once be glorified of all Nations and people for ever,
Amen.

p. p. 819.

1 Rom. 11. 18



An Epistolicall Discourse
Of Mr. IOHN DURY,

T O

Mr. THOROWGOOD.

Concerning his conjecture that the
Americans are descended from the
Israelites.

With the History of a Portugall Jew,
Antonie Monterinos, attested by
Manasseh Ben Israel, to the
same effect.

S I R,



Am bound to thank you for the communication
of your booke, which I have read with a great
deale of delight and satisfaction; for the rarity
of the subject, and the variety of your observati-
ons thereupon, which you have deduced with as
much probability to make out your theme, as
History can afford matter: I did shew it to another friend of
great judgement and ingenuity, who was so taken with it, that
he said he would have it to be coppied out at his cost, if you
would not publish it to the world, which hee and I have resol-

(d)

ved

ved to importune you to doe : for although at first blush, the thing which you offer to be believed, will seeme to most men incredible, and extravagant; yet when all things are laid rationally and without prejudice together, there will be nothing of improbability found therein, which will not be swallowed up with the appearance of contrary likelihoods, of things possible and largely attested by some to be truths : whereof to confirme your probable conjectures, I shall give you that information which is come to my hands at severall times in these late yeares, which you, (if you shall thinke fit) may publish to the world, as I have received them, which to the probability of your conjectures adde so much light, that if the things which I shall relate be not meere fictions (which I assure you are none of mine, for you shall have them without any addition, as I have received them) none can make any further scruple of the truth of your assertion; but before I come to particulars, I shall tell you of some thoughts which are come upon this occasion into my minde, concerning Gods way of dealing with mens spirits for the manifestation of his truth and wisdom to those that seeke after it; and concerning the wonderfull contrivances by which he brings his counsell to passe beyond all mens thoughts: I have observed, and every one that will take notice must needs perceive, that the spirits of men in reference to spiritual matters, whether divine or humane (by humane, I meane all matters of science and industry depending upon judgement and sagacity) are distinguishable into two kinds, the one are stedfast to some principles, and the other are unstable; this distinction in divine matters is clear, from 2 Pet. 3. 17. Jude, ver. 3. 4, 6, 12, 13, 17, 18, 20, 21. and in humane matters wee need none other prooffe but daily experience. Again, these that are stedfast to their principles, will be found of two sorts; some are led in an ordinary common way and rest therein, admitting of nothing further then what they have attained unto; some (though they doe not undervalue the ordinary waies which in their owne kinds are usefull and necessary, yet they) aspire to something more then ordinary and rest not where they are, they believe that both in humane and divine matters there is, as long as we are in this life, a *plus ultra*, and that we never ought

to rest in seeking after the advancement of learning and the increase of knowledge, till wee shall come to see the Father of lights face to face ; the different inclinations of these three sorts of men in the world, leading them to different courses and straines in their proceedings, and these begetting divers encounters amongst them wherein they disagree, and know not how to right matters towards one another for mutuall content and edification, are the causes of all our strife and confusion in all affaires, as well of Religious as of civill concernment; nor is it possible to be free from the disorders and distempers, which make the life of mankind uncomfortable in this kind, and full of vexation, till God hath removed those that fall away from their owne stedfastnesse out of the earth, which will not come to passe till hee hath filled the earth with the knowledge of the Lord as the waters cover the sea ; till hee hath brought us all that are stedfast unto true principles, and that walke by rules; unto the unity of the faith and knowledge of the sonne of God, unto a perfect man unto the measure of the stature of the fulnesse of Christ : which things because they are clearly promised, wee may expect shall come to passe, but till then we shall be carried differently about with severall winds of doctrine, and ensnared in our owne ignorance by the cunning craftinesse of men who lie in waite to deceive ; for the unstable are either wickedly set to worke changes upon those that are settled for ends of their owne, or weakely carried up and downe through the uncertaine apprehensions of things differently represented unto them, sometimes one way and sometimes another ; so that between the motions of mens spirits tubully unstable tending to unsettle others, and weakely stable susceptible of any unsettlement from others, all our changes and disorderly carriages, both in divine and humane affaires doe arise ; when either those that have no principles of truth to walke by, study lies to puzzle those that pretend to walke by rules, or those that have true principles vary from one another in their degrees of understanding, and in their manner of applying the same to advance knowledge, and to make discoveries of Gods manifestation of himselfe ; for as these motions meet with one another in opposite courses, and men led thereby, stand by one another

Esa. 11. 9.

Eph. 4. 13.

Eph. 4. 14.

In disproportionat frames, or juttle one another out of their places for contrary ends; so all our confusions and revolutions of Churches and States, and therein of scientificall straines, and of practicall undertakings, arise differently in the world: here then is a threefold diversity in acting, the changeable and moveable disposition of the one sort, is made to try the stability of the other two, and those that are settled in an ordinary way, are tryers to those that are led forth to something that is extraordinary; and those that upon allowed principles do rationally bring forth something more then ordinary, try the ingenuity of the other two, how farre they love truth for it selfe; So that each of these puts his neighbour to the triall of his property, and constraines him to manifest the nature of his way, how farre it is, or is not from God: And although every thing which is beyond the ordinary straine, is liable to be censured and contradicted by men of ordinary apprehensions. who condemne for the most part as extravagant and ridiculous whatsoever is not levell with their capacities; yet I am inclined to believe, that there is alwaies something of God in all men, that are led forth by extraordinary motions, namely when their spirits doe not reject the common true principles, and yet are raised above them, to apprehend conclusions and inferences which are not common; and when their affections are regularly constant to their workes, and their undertakings pursued with sobriety in the feare of God, then I conceive that God hath put upon them a speciall stampe and character of his vertue, by which he doth fit them for some designe and service whereunto he hath raised them. I have observed this in very many men of publike spirits, most commonly they have bin laught at by others for going out of the common road-way of acting; whether to make good some opinions, which others never dreamt of, or to doe some businesse which others have thought impossibilities to be effected; (I say) I have observed, that when they have been led forth with modesty, without selfe conceitednesse and vanity, and when they have prosecuted their enterprises with remarkable perseverance, that God hath made them one way or other remarkably instrumentall and usefull towards their generation for the advancement of his worke, which

which is the reformation of this world, and the restauration of all things by the kingdom of Iesus Christ, whereunto all extraordinary gifts, and the unusuall leadings forth of mens spirits are preparatives. I could instance in severall men which I have known, and doe know abroad and at home, of severall professions, whose studies and endeavours have been lookt upon as whimsies and extravagancies by the road-way-men of that profession; and yet I am perswaded that they are led and acted by that Spirit which leadeth the children of God in all truth; and because other men otherwise rationall and observant, (who though not altogether destitute of the spirit, yet are not raised above the ordinary pitch) do not know the drift of the spirit of these; therefore these are lookt upon by them as men of odde conceits: I have seen some of the great Rabbies of our times, heretofore much scandalized at the proposalls and undertakings of Mr *Comenius*; but it hath pleased God to assist him so with grace, and support him with constancy in his way, notwithstanding many trialls and temptations; that he hath been able during his owne life, to see the usefulness of some of his endeavours, whereof a more full account will be given to the world very shortly. I could speake of others, whose attempts, though not so apparantly successfull during their life, yet no lesse usefull in their kind, and which in due time, will prove the grounds of great advantages and discoveries unto posterity, although in the generation where their lot is fallen to live, they have not been believed nor received. Gods way to dispence grace is not according to outward appearances, and for this cause, the multitude doth not entertaine the instruments thereof with due esteem, nor the meanes by which it is offered to the world with respect, because they come in a homely dresse, and without the affectation of any shew; nevertheless wisdom at all times is justified by her children, and there take notice of her paths, and trace the counsell of God therein, for they can see that Gods waies and counsels reach from end to end, and that he comprehends in his aime both that which is past, and that which is present, and that which is to come in future ages; so that in the conclusion of all, he will make it appeare, that the unusuall motions of his servants, which the world have

disesteemed and counted foolishnesse, have been the extraordinary worke of his Spirit in them, whereby he doth convince the world of sinne, of righteousness, of judgement : of sinne, because the testimony which they bore to the truth was not received; of righteousness, because they who served their generation faithfully with the righteous use of their talent in the midst of scorners, are justly taken away from an unthankfull generation and the evill day, to rest from their labours, that their workes may follow them; and of judgement, because the selfe conceited pride and partiality of the wise and prudent of this world, shall be judged and condemned by the worke of his spirit, when he shall bring all the effects thereof together to make out his compleate designe against the world, and by the conjunction of the seemingly scattered parts which his servants have acted upon their stages, produce the new frame of a perfect Scene, the catastrophe whereof shall make up a building fit for the kingdom of his Son.

I am fallen upon these thoughts, and acquaint you thus with them, partly to support mine owne spirit against the contradictions which I meet withall in the way wherein God hath set me, for the constant prosecution of peace and truth without partiality amongst my brethren; partly to apologize for the drift of your spirit, whereby I perceive you have been led these many yeares in some of your studies; for it is very evident to me, that you have sought after a matter, which to most men will seem incredible, ridiculous and extravagant; and to tell you the truth, before I had read your discourse and seriously weighed matters, when I thought upon your theme, that the Americans should be of the seed of Israell, it seemed to me somewhat strange and unlikely to have any truth in it; but afterward when I had weighed your deduction of the matter, and lookt seriously upon Gods hand in bringing into those parts of the World where the Americans are, so many religious professors, zealous for the advancement of his glory, and who are possessed with a beliefe from the Scriptures, that all the Tribes of Israell shall be called to the knowledge of Jesus Christ, before the the end of the world : and when I had recollected and laid together some other scattered and confused thoughts
which

which at several times I have received, partly from the places of Scripture, which foretell the calling of the Jewes, and their restitution to their owne land, together with the bringing back of the ten Tribes from all the ends and corners of the earth, partly from some relations which I had heard a few yeeres agoe concerning the ten Tribes, which the Jewes here in *Europe* had given out; and partly from the observations of Gods way, which he seemes to make by all these changes, and the dissolution of the States and Empires of the world, towards some great worke, and extraordinary revolution which may shortly come to passe: all which things when I had called to mind and represented unto my selfe, I was so far from derogating any thing from that which you have conjectured concerning the American Indians; that I beganne to stand amazed at the appearances of the probabilities which so many waies offered themselves unto me, to make out and confirme the effect of that which you have said: And then I begun also upon another account, to wonder at the strangenesse of Gods conduct. Over your spirit, that he should have set you a worke twelve or more yeeres agoe, after the search of such a matter, by historicall observations, whereof then so few, and almost no footsteps at all were extant to be traced, and whereof now, of a suddaine, the world is like to be filled with such evidences, that it will be an astonishment to all that shall heare of it, and lay it to heart; and that all who have any ingenuity will be constrained to confesse, that indeed there is a God who ruleth in the earth, and that he hath ordered the affaires of the Nations by an universal providence, to bring to passe his own counsels, and that the things which hee hath revealed by his word, should in the latter times be accomplished; for to my apprehension, this will be the great benefit of these discoveries; namely, that the mouths of Atheists will be stopped, and convicted of irrationality and foolishnesse: For when it shall appear to all men undeniably, that the transmigration of Nations, and the affaires of this world, have not been carried hitherto by meere chance, or by the craftinesse of humane counsels, or by force; but by the wisdom of a Supream conduct, who hath ordered all things from the beginning towards an end. which hath been
fore-

foreknown, and to a designe foretold. (I say) when this shall appeare, and that in the midst of all these changes and confusions, there is a conduct over-ruling the force of man, and dis-appointing the counsels of the crafty; then the eyes of all men will be upon the Lord, and God alone will bee exalted in righteousness, and the Holy one of Israell in judgement: For seeing it is evident that the ten Tribes of Israell have been as it were lost in the world neare about the space of two thousand yeeres, if now they should againe appeare upon the stage, first as it were in another world by themselves, and then afterward speedily come from thence hither to the land of their ancient inheritance, where they shall be joyned to their brethren the Jews (which is clearly foretold by the Prophets shall come to passe) if (I say) those things should now begin to come to passe, what can all the world say otherwise, but that the Lords counsell doth stand, and that he hath fulfilled the words spoken by his Servants the Prophets concerning Israel; that although all the sinfull kingdoms of the Nations shall be destroyed from off the face of the earth, yet that the house of *Jacob* shall not be utterly destroyed, but shall be corrected in measure, *for loe I will command* (saith God by the Prophet) *and I will sift the house of Israell among all Nations, like as corne is sifted in the sieve, yet shall not the least graine fall upon the earth.* These Prophecies must needs be fulfilled, if there be a God in heaven who hath foretold them, and when he shall make this his word good unto Israell, he will thereby make it undeniably apparent, that it was he himselfe and none other who did foretell it; and that it is also none but hee who brings the worke about beyond all humane appearances, according as he did foretell it: and by all this he will shew to all the world, that which he oft-times repeates by the Prophet *Isaiah*, that he alone is the Saviour, and that there is none besides him, *Isa. 45. 5, 6, 15. till the end.* The destruction then of the spirituall *Babylon* by the restauration of Israel, shall make out this to all the earth, that God alone is the Lord over all, and the Saviour of the people that put their trust in his name.

Now the appearances which offer themselves unto me, that these Prophecies are towards their accomplishment, are many,

sa. 2.

zec. 24 & 37.

er. 3c. & 46.

Amos. 9.

Micha. 4 &c.

er. 39. 10, 11.

Amos, 9. 8, 9.

many, which now I shall not insist upon, (perhaps God will direct me to declare them in due season more fully then now I can intend) but I shall onely mention that which I find to be a confirmation of your conjecture, leaving it to your owne discretion, what use you will make of it.

First then I shall impart unto you some stories which I heard five or six yeeres agoe, when I was in the Low Countries, concerning the ten Tribes; and then I shall adde some information concerning the state of the Jewes in our European and Asiaticque worlds, which I have learned at other times by some providences which God hath offered unto mee; and upon the whole matter I shall leave you to your further conjectures, by that which I shall guesse at.

The first story which I heard was at the *Hague*, a person of chief quality about the Queen of *Bohemia*, and one of her Counsell, and a discerning godly man, and my speciall friend told me, that the Jew (a Jeweller residing ordinarily at the *Hague*) whom I knew, had been there at Court, and with great joy had told, that they of his Nation had received from *Constantinople* Letters, bringing to them glad tidings of two speciall matters fallen out there; the one was, that the Grand Seignior had remitted the great taxes which formerly had been laid upon the Jewes of those parts, so that now they were in a manner free from all burthens, paying but a small and inconsiderable matter to that Empire; the other was, that a messenger was come unto the Jewes who reside neere about the Holy Land, from the ten Tribes, to make enquiry concerning the state of the Land; and what was become of the two Tribes and the half which was left in it, when they were transported from thence by *Salmanasser*. This Messenger was described to be a grave man, having some attendance in good equipage about him. He told them that the people from which hee was sent were the Tribes of Israel, which in the daies of *Hosea* the King, were carried captives out of their owne Land by the King of *Assyria*, who transported them from *Samaria* into *Assyria* and the Cities of the Medes; but they being grieved for the transgressions which caused God to be angry with them, they tooke a resolution to separate themselves from all Idolaters, and

2 King. 17.

so went from the Heathen where they were placed by *Salmanassar*, with a resolution to live by themselves, and observe the Commandements of God; which in their owne Land they had not observed: in prosecuting this resolution, after a long journey of a yeere and six moneths, they came to a countrey wholly destitute of inhabitants, where now they have increased into a great Nation, and are to come from thence into their owne Land by the direction of God; and to shew them that hee was a true Israelite, hee had brought with him a Scroule of the Law of *Moses*, written according to their custome.

The Gentleman who told me this story, as from the mouth of the Jew, said that it brought to his mind fully (by reason of the agreement of circumstances almost in all things) the story which is recorded in the Second Booke of *Esdras*, which is called Apocrypha, Chap. 13. ver. 40. till 50. which will be found a truth if that Messenger came and made this Narrative. This was the first story; and not long after *viz.* Within the space of five or six moneths, a little before I came from the Low Countries, I was told of a Jew who came from *America* to *Amsterdam*, and brought to the Jewes residing there, newes concerning the ten Tribes; that hee had been with them upon the border of their Land, and had conversed with some of them for a short space, and seen and heard remarkable things whiles he stayed with them, whereof then I could not learn the true particulars; but I heard that a Narrative was made in writing of that which he had related, which before I went from *Holland* last, I had no time to seeke after, but since the reading of your Booke, and some discourse I have had with you about these matters, I have procured it from the Low Countries, and received a Copie thereof in French, attested under *Manasseh Ben Israel* his hand, that it doth exactly agree with the originall, as it was sent me, the translation thereof I have truly made without adding or taking away any thing; and because I was not satisfied in some things, and desired to know how farre the whole matter was believed among the Jewes at *Amsterdam*, I wrote to *Manasseh Ben Israel*, their chiefe Rabbi, about it, and his answer I have gotten

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in two Letters, telling me that by the occasion of the Questions which I proposed unto him concerning this adjoynd Narrative of Mr. *Antonio Monterinos*, hee to give me satisfaction, had written instead of a Letter, a Treatise, which hee shortly would publish, and whereof I should receive so many Copies as I should desire : In his first Letter dated *Novem.* last, 25. he saies that in his treatise he handles of the first inhabitants of *America*, which he believes were of the ten Tribes ; moreover, that they are scattered also in other Countries, which he names, and that they keepe their true Religion, as hoping to returne againe into the Holy land in due time.

This narra
so attested
translated,
the end of
Book.

In his second Letter, dated the twenty three of *December*, he saies more distinctly thus: I declare how that our Israelites were the first finders out of *America*; not regarding the opinions of other men, which I thought good to refute in few words onely: and I thinke that the ten Tribes live not onely there, but also in other lands scattered every where; these never did come backe to the second Temple, and they keep till this day still the Jewish Religion, seeing all the Prophecies which speake of their bringing backe unto their native Soile must be fulfilled: So then at their appointed time, all the Tribes shall meet from all the parts of the world into two provinces, namely *Assyria* and *Egypt*, nor shall their Kingdome be any more divided, but they shall have one Prince the Messiah the Sonne of *David*. I do also set forth the Inquisition of *Spaine*, and rehearse divers of our Nation, and also of Christians, Martyrs, who in our times have suffered severall sorts of torments, and then having shewed with what great honours our Jewes have been graced also by severall Princes who profess Christianity. I prove at large, that the day of the promised Messiah unto us doth draw neer, upon which occasion I explaine many Prophecies, &c.

By all which you see his full agreement with your conjecture concerning the Americans, that they are descended of the Hebrewes: when his booke comes to my hand, you shall have it God willing.

In the meane time I shall adde some of my conjectures concerning the Jewes which live on this side of the world with us in *Europe* and *Asia*; these are of two sorts or Sects, the one is

of Pharisees, the other of Caraites, the Pharisees in *Europe* and *Asia* are in number farre beyond the Caraites, they differ from one another wheresoever they are, as Protestants doe from Papists; for the Pharisees, as the Papists, attribute more to the Authoritie and traditions of their Rabbies and Fathers, then to the word of God; but the Caraites will receive nothing for a rule of faith and obedience but what is delivered from the word of God immediately: and their name imports their profession, that they are readers of the Text, or Textuaries, for so the word טקס you know when it relates to bookes and writings, is to be rendred. These two Sects are irreconcilably opposite to each other, and as the Papists deale with Protestants, so do the Pharisees with the Caraites, they persecute and suppress them and their profession by all the means they can possibly make use of: Nay as Mr *Ritangle* (of whom I have all the informations which I know concerning the Caraites) tels me, the hatred of the Pharisees is so fierce against their opposites the Caraites, that they have Anathematized them so, as never to be reconciled unto them; inso much, that it is counted unlawfull so much as to speake to any of them, or to any that belongeth unto them, but at the distance of foure cubits at least; their Bookes and all things belonging to them, are avoided as things abominable and to be abhorred; nor will the Pharisees, although the Caraites should become penitent, and desire to be joyned to their Congregations, and renounce their owne way, admit of them as a Caraites reconciled unto them: but the Caraites must first become a Christian, a Mahometan, or an Idolater, before he can be admitted to joyne with them, that it may never bee said that a Pharisee was reconciled to a Caraites, or that a Caraites is become a Pharisee. As their principles and affections are thus different, so are their opinions, and the course of their life extremely opposite; the Pharisees are full of superstitious imaginary foolish conceits, and thalmudicall questions and nicities in their Sermons and Bookes; the Caraites are rationall men that take up no doctrines but what the Scriptures teach, by comparing one text with another: The Pharisees have wild and extravagant fancies concerning the Messiah and his reigne; but the Caraites have true grounds of spirituall and raised thoughts

concerning the Messiah and his Kingdome, little different from that which the better sort of Christians truly believe, and professe of these misteries. The Pharisees in their Sermons insist upon nothing but their traditions and ceremonies, and foolish curiosities; but the Caraits insist onely upon necessary and profitable duties, teaching the way of Godlinesse and honesty, to bring men from the outward forme to the inward power and spirituall performance of divine worship.

As concerning their course of life, the Pharisees live every where by a way of trading & usury, which is destructive to those with whom they have commerce; but the Caraits abhor that way, as pestilent unto humane societies, and betake themselves to trades, and manufactures, to become husbandmen, and servants in the places where they live, and to serve as Souldiers under the Magistrate, who doth protect them.

This being the state and difference of these two Sects, (as he who in *Asia* and some part of *Europe* hath been above twenty yeers conversant with them, and a Doctor in their Synagogues, hath informed me) I shall acquaint you with my Conjectures concerning the event of our present troubles in the world over all, and the revolution of the Jewish state, which are these; that it is not unlikely to me that the issue and effect of these changes which now are wrought, and afoot to bee wrought in the world, (wherein the highest powers are shaken, and a generall distresse is brought upon all the Nations of the earth) will be a breaking of the yokes of tyranny and oppression, under which not onely the Jewes every where groan, but with them most of the Gentiles, or rather all of them that are under an arbitrary power of absolute Potentates, and superstitious selfe-seeking teachers; that the breaking of these yokes is already a great way advanced. First, in the Easterne *China* Empire by the invasion of the Tartarians. Secondly, in the Northerne and Easterne Mahometane Empire, by the changes brought upon, and likely to fall out in the *Ottoman* house and line; and by the liberty which of late hath been granted to the Jewes, not onely from taxes, but of repairing to *Jerusalem*, and having Synagogues there, which heretofore was utterly prohibited. Thirdly, in the Westerne, which is called the Ro-

man or German Empire, by these late troubles, and the assistance which the King of the *North* the Swede, hath given to Protestants to maintaine their liberty : All the power of these yokes must yet further be broken in the Supream and Subordinate Ministers thereof; in respect of the whole bodies of these Empires, and of the particular Kingdomes and States which resort under the same; for all Nations by the light of naturall reason, but chiefly those, whom the Gospel hath enlightened, and prepared in a measure, to apprehend the hope of the glorious liberty of the Sonnes of God, will more and more every where resent their priviledge and right to a freedome, from which they have been restrained, by the mistery of iniquity in spirituall and corporall matters; and when the grounds of righteous order, of impartiall love to mankind, and of common preservation, shall breake forth at last, and be taken notice of in the midst of these confusions and great troubles which fall upon all sorts of men; then the Jewes will come and appeare in their owne ranke, and for their own interest, they will by others be respected; for their interest will be upon the dissolution of the Mahometan, to resist and oppose the Spanish Monarchy, that it may not propagate it selfe Eastward, and Southward, beyond the Mediterranean Sea; and that the Inquisition by which they have been so cruelly persecuted, may be every where abolished; but above all things, kept out of the holy Land and their beloved City *Jerusalem* : If then there should be any transactions (as it is said there is like to be) between the *Ottoman* house and the house of *Spaine* about the Holy Land, the Jewes who are now at some liberty there, and begin from all parts of the Earth to lift up their eyes to looke thitherward, will quickly resent it, and finde their interest to be the enjoyment of their owne inheritance; and to helpe them to it, they will finde assistance from all Christians that are not slaves to superstition and tyranny, and that assistance and favour which by such Christians will be given them, may in Gods hand be a meanes to open the Pharisee his eyes, to see somewhat in Christianity, from which he hath been hitherto blinded, by reason of the prejudice which the Idolatry of the Papall Sea, and the Spanish Inquisition hath begotten in him. As for the Carajts, God hath

hath so ordered it, that the greatest bodies of them are in the Northerne parts of the World, by which the ten Tribes, if ever they come to the Holy Land, are like to come; there be some few in *Russia*, some in *Constantinople*, some in *Alcair*, some in *Persia*, and some in other places of *Asia* and of *Africa*; but Mr *Ritangle* told me that their chiefe bodie is amongst the Asiaticque and European Tartarians, who now appeare upon the stage as beginning to be conquerers. For besides that which they doe fully possesse in *China*, they have tasted somewhat of a victorious progresse of late in *Poland*, and they are the next pretenders to the *Ottoman* Crowne, if the line faile, which is like to be: their rising and dissipation abroad from their owne centers to their circumferences towards neighbour Nations, will weaken them at home; and if then, when they are not strong within their owne bounds, and by their invasions have weakened their neighbours Southward on; God call the ten Tribes to march toward the place of their inheritance: the Caraits their brethren will be leaders of them on their way, and so their march may be, as *Manasseh Ben Israel* saith, to make their Rendezvous in *Assyria*; and on the other side, the Jewes that are Pharisees, may make their Rendezvous from *Arabia* and other neighbouring places, and out of all *Europe* into *Egypt*; that so when the Shunamite shall returne (as it is said in the *Canticles*, chap. 6. ver. 13.) the world may looke upon her, and may see in her the company of two Armies, which both shall look towards *Jerusalem*. Then will the great battaile of Harnageddon be fought, whereunto all these troubles and changes are but preparatives: then shall the sword of the Spirit, the word of God, prevaile mightily over the spirits of all men; the two edges thereof on the right hand and on the left, will cut sharpe, and pierce to the dividing asunder of soule and spirit, and of the joynts and marrow, and to the discerning of the thoughts and intentions of the heart: and when this sword shall be thus powerfull in the hands of his Saints, (the true Protestants with the one troope, and the true Caraits with the other) then shall be fulfilled the Prophecie of the Psalmist, that *Psa.* 149 7, 8, 9. vengeance shall be executed upon the Heathen, and punishments upon the people; that their Kings shall be bound with chains

chaines, and their Nobles with fetters of iron; and that the honour due to all Saints shall be given them, to be made executioners of the judgement written in the word of God against them. We know not how neare these things are at hand, let us therefore be watchfull, and put on the armour of light, to be ready, when the Bridegroom comes, to goe with him in our wedding garment, having our lamps burning, and provision of oile, into the wedding chamber. And to this effect, the Lord teach us to be diligent, to be found of him in peace, without spot and blamelesse, that in the midst of these fightings and confusions, we may not be found as many are, smiting their fellow servants, eating and drinking largely of the spoile of those that are spoiled, and being drunken with the passions of malice, entertained for the revenge of injuries, or of covetousnesse and ambition, prosecuted for self-interests: and with this prayer I shall commend you to the grace of God, and rest,

Your faithfull friend and

fellow labourer in

St Iames, this

27 Jan.

1649.

50.

the Gospel of Christ.

J. DURY.

JEWES IN AMERICA,

O R

Probabilities that the Americans be Jewes:

From

Part. 1.

- Generall Introduction, Chap. 1.
- Six severall conjectures, {
1. Conjecture. Their own acknowledgement. Ch. 2.
 2. Rites and customes in both alike, Common ceremonies such, Chap. 3, and solemn. Ch. 4.
 3. Their words and manner of speech, as the Jewes. Chap. 5.
 4. Their man-devouring. Ch. 6.
 5. They have not yet been Gospellized. Ch. 7.
 6. Their calamities, as 28. *Deut.* Ch. 8.

Part 2.

- Some contrary reasonings removed, {
1. In the Generall. Ch. 1.
 1. The Jewes should get into America. Chap. 1.
 2. So few empeople that great part of the world. Ch. 3.
 3. Become so prodigiously barbarous. Chap. 4.
 2. Particularly, How,

Part. 3.

- Earnest desires for hearty endeavours to make them Christian, {
1. To the Planters,
 1. Cause of their removall. Chap. 1.
 2. Hope of the Natives Conversion. Chap. 2.
 3. Directions to it. Chap. 3.
 4. Cautions about it. Chap. 4.
 2. To the English there.
 1. In behalfe of the Planters, aspersions wiped off. Chap. 5. & 6.
 1. Motives. Chap. 7.
 2. Helps. Chap. 8.
 3. Encouragements from your Countrymens pious endeavours there. Ch. 9.
 4. And the successe thereof upon the Indians. Ch. 10.
 2. Towards the Natives conversion.



Jewes in America,

OR,

Probabilities that the *Americans*
are *Jewes*.

CHA P. I.



IT hath been much, and many times, in severall mens thoughts, what Genius devoted our Countrey-men so willingly to forsake their Friends, and Nation, exposing themselves by voyages long and perillous to so many inconveniences, as are to be encountred with by Strangers in a forraigne and unchristian land; some were hastened by their dislike of Church Government; other perhaps were in hope to enrich themselves by such Adventures; and tis like, divers of them did

B

foresee

foresee those Epidemicall Calamities, now for so many years oppressing this forlorne Nation, following there-upon *Solomons Counsell*, *A prudent man foreseeth the evil, and hideth himselfe, &c.* Prov. 22. 5. Or else those pious soules by a divine instinct, might happily bee stirred up to despise all hazards, that the Natives for their temporall accommodations might bee spiritually enriched by the *English*, and though this was little seen at first in the endeavours, at least the successe of many gone thither, yet who can tell but supreme Providence might then dispose mens hearts that way, themselves not discerning that influence; even as *Cyrus* promoted the cause of the Jewes, he knew not why, nor whence, *Esa.* 45. 4, 5. Upon confidence that the Gospel of Christ shall be revealed in the midst of that yet most Barbarous Nation, the next desire was, if possible, to learne the Originall of the Americans, and by observations from Printed Books, and written Letters, and by Discourse with some that had travelled to, and abode in those parts severall years, the probability of that opinion as yet præponderates, that the Westerne Indians be of Jewish race. (a) *R. Verstegan* proves the Saxons to be Germans, because their speech is alike, the names of persons and things sometimes agree, and the Idols of them both are not different; *Bodine* (b) mentioneth 3 Arguments (b), by which the beginnings of People are discoverable, the faire and true dealing of Historians, the comparing of Language, with the description of the Countrey, such helps have assisted also in this enquiry: *Grotius* (c) conceiveth these Americans to have come out of Europe, passing from Norway into Iseland, thence by Friesland into Greenland, and so into Estoriland, which is part of that Western Continent,

esset. c. 2.

Met. Hist. c. 9.

*dissert. de
ig. Gent. A-
136.*

Continent, hee is induced to that opinion from the names and words of places and things in both sounding alike: but *Io. de Laet* (*d*) abundantly disproves this Conjecture, which yet the Governor of the Dutch Plantation (*e*) theretold Mr. *Williams* was his judgement: Some others take them (*f*) to be a remnant of those Canaanites that fled out of that Land when the feare of Israel approaching thither fell upon them, *Iosh. 2. 9.* Others thinke (*g*) it most probable, that they are Tartars, passing out of Asia into America by the straights of *Anian*. *Emanuel de Morats* (*h*) willingly believes them to be derived from the Carthaginians and Jewes; from which latter that they be descended, these following Conjectures are propounded to Consideration.

d Not. ad ist.
Dissert.

e Key of the
Language

Amer. Pref.
t *Lerius* *F.*

Brasil. P. 2.
g *Laet De.*

Americ.
Mr. Gage,

h *apud Laet*
Grot. Dissert.

lat. Part. 1.
P. 216.

CHAP. II.

The first Conjecture that the Americans are Jewes.

THE Indians doe themselves relate things of their Ancestors, (*a*) futeable to what we read of the Jewes in the Bible, and elsewhere, which they also mentioned to the Spaniards at their first access thither; and here the Speech of *Myrsilus* (*b*) occurred as observable: if we would know, saith hee, the Antiquity and Originall of a Nation, there is more credit to be given to the Natives and their Neighbors, than to strangers, and *Cesar* (*c*) concluded the Britons to be Gaules, because that was the affirmation of them both. *P. Martyr* (*d*) tells at large, how *Muteczuma* the

a *Pet. Martyr*
Decad. aliq.

b *In Borofo.*
l. 6.

c *In Bodin.*
Meth. P. 4.

d *lb. P. 35*

N. Ca.
p. 49.
under de
vā p.

sta. Hist.
v. 4.

i supra.

uin.
n. i.

o. ag. Br.
v. 3.

Mart.
i.

great King of *Mexico* in an Oration made to his Nobles and People, perswading subjection to the King of Spaine, minds his Countrey-men, that they heard from their fore-fathers, how they were strangers in that land, and by a great Prince very long agoe brought thither in a Fleet, They boast their Pedigree from men preserved in the Sea by God himsele, that God made one man, and one woman, bidding them live together and multiply, and how in a Famine hee rained bread for them from Heaven, who in a time of drought also gave them Water out of a Rock: many other things, themselves say were done for them, such as the Scriptures relate concerning the Israelites at their comming out of *Ægypt*, as, their Peregrination many yeeres, the Oracles they received, their Arke of Bulrush, wherein *Vitzi-Liputzli* was included, of the Tabernacle the Ark (e) carried by foure Priests, and how they pitched their Tents according to its direction, and who seeth not saith *Malvenda* (f) much probability that the *Mexicans* are *Jewes*, how could they else report the manner of their comming into the promised Land; they affirme there is one chiefe God, who hath been from all eternity, by whom the lesser Gods were made, who became Assistants in the Fabrick and Government of the World, as some of the (g) Rabbins also called the Angells Co-Creators with God, to whom the Lord did say, *Let us make man in our Image, &c. Gen. 1. 26.* The Indians judge the Sunne, Moone and Starres to be living creatures, a thing also avowed in the Jewish *Talmud* (h), shewing it to be a thing easie enough for the Heavens to declare the glory of God, *Psalme 19. 1.* seeing they have understanding soules as well as men and Angels; they (i) say of themselves, that they be strangers, and came

came from another Countrey. *Moraes* (k) before nam^{k Laetain Gr}ed doth not onely averre that many learned men^{p. 219.} in *Brasile* take the Natives to be Jewes, but that they themselves, taught by a most ancient Tradition, acknowledge their fore-fathers to be of that lineage; and *Peter Martyr* (l) hath from them also such a kinde of assertion: And now whereas some conceive the ten Tribes to be either shut up beyond the (m) Caspian Mountaines, whence they could not get out, though they begged leave of *Alexander* the Great, yet the way was made miraculously unpassable against them, as the same *Comester* relateth: Others suppose (n) them to be utterly lost, and if once so, tis probable in the opinion of some that they are to be found in America; (o) *Acosta* acknowledgeth this to be the judgement of divers, to which he is not onely adverse himselfe, but endeavours to answer their Arguments, as will be shewed hereafter; to these conjectures of the Natives, let this Chapter bee concluded with the judgements of two others, that have reason for what they say, the first is (p) *Emanuel de Moraes*, forespoken of, affirming those of *Brasile* to be Judaicall: First, because those *Brasilians* marrie into their owne Tribe and Kindred. Secondly, Their Manner is also to call their Uncles and Aunts, Fathers and Mothers. Thirdly, they are given much to mourning and teares in their Funerall solemnities: And last of all, they both have Garments much alike. The next is Master (q) *R. Williams*, one of the first, if not the first of our Nation in New England that learned the Language, and so prepared towards the Conversion of the Natives, which purpose of his being knowne, hee was desired to observe if hee found

libid.
m Comester
Hist p. 137.
& 169.

n G. Sand
Trav. p. 1.
o Hist. l. 1.
c. 29.

p Apud Io
de Laet.
part. 1. p. 2

q Letter.

found any thing Judaicall among them, &c. He kindly answers to those Letters from *Salem* in New England, 20th of the 10th moneth, more than ten yeers since, in *hac verba*. Three things make me yet suspect that the poore natives came from the southward, and are Jewes or Jewish *quodammodo*, and not from the Northern barbarous as some imagine. 1. Themselves constantly affirme that their Ancestors came from the southwest, and thither they all goe dying. 2. They constantly and strictly separate their women in a little Wigwam by themselves in their feminine seasons. 3. And beside their God Kuttand to the south-west, they hold that Nanawitnawit (a God over head) made the Heavens and the Earth, and some tast of affinity with the Hebrew I have found.

CHAP. III.

Second Conjecture.

THe rites, fashions, ceremonies, and opinions of the Americans are in many things agreeable to the custome of the Jewes, not onely prophane and common usages, but such as be called solemn and sacred.

Common and prophane Customes in both alike.

osβa. L.I.C. I The Indians (a) weare garments fashioned as the Jewes, a single coate, a square little cloake, they goe barefoot : if you should aske a man of *Brasile* what vestment would please him best, he would answer presently,

ly, (b) a long cloake the habit of the Jewes, and this may seem no light consideration to such as minde *Seneca's* (c) confidence, that the Spaniards planted themselves in *Italy*, for they have the same kind of covering on their heads, and shooes for their feet.

2 They constantly (d) annoint their heads, as did the Jewes also, *Luk. 7.46.*

3. They doe not onely pride themselves with eare-rings (e) but their noses are bored also, and have jewells hanging on them, which they call *Caricori*, like that is read, *Esa. 3. 20, 21.*

4. In all India (f) they wash themselves often, twice or thrice in the day, and the women in *Brafile* ten times saith *Lerius* (g) and the Jewes were frequent in this, *Id. p. 94-100 Mar. 7. 3. 4. 10. 2. 6.*

5. They delight exceedingly in dancing, (h) men and women, yea and women apart by themselves; and so they did in *Israell. Exod. 13. 20. 1 Sam. 21. 11, 12.* and thus especially after victories (i) and overthrowes of enemies, which is found also, *Ind. 11. 34. Ind. 21. 21. 23. & 1 Sam. 18. 6, 7.*

6. As the Jewes were wont to call them fathers and mothers, that were not their naturall parents, so (k) the Indians give the same appellation to Uncle and Aunts.

7. In America they eate no swines flesh (l) tis hateful to them, as it was among the Jewes, *Levit. 11. 7. Esa. 66. 15.*

8. They wash (m) strangers feet, and are very hospitall to them, and this was the known commendation of old *Israell.*

9. The Indians compute their times by nights (n) and use which *Laet* (o) confesseth they had from the Hebrews; they

b *Lerius. Vbi supra.*

c *De consolat. ad Helvid. c. 8.*

d *Mr Will. Key. preface.*

e *Benzo. p. 6. & 50. Acosta. l. 7. c. 17.*

f *Benzo. p. 193*

g *Id. p. 94-100*

h *Id. p. 107. 10*

i *Nova Francia. p. 221.*

k *Jo. de Laet. 217.*

l *Mr Will. Key. prospect of N. E. p. 95.*

m *Benzo. p. 11*

222. *Lerius.*

256. 258. *La*

Descr. of Am

rica p. 545.

n *Lerius. p. 2*

P. Mart. p. 31

478.

o *Nat in Gr. they p. 37.*

they reckon by lunary rules, giving the same name to their moneths they do to the Moon, *Tona*.

10. Virginity is not a state praise-worthy among the Americanes (*p*) and it was a bewaileable condition in *Iury, lud.* 11. 37.

11. The Natives (*q*) marry within their owne kindred and family, this was Gods command to his people, *Num.* 36. 7.

12. The Indian women (*r*) are easily delivered of their children, without Midwives, as those in *Exod.* 1. 19.

13. They wash their infants newly born (*s*) and this you finde also, *Ezek.* 16. 9.

14. In fæminine seasons they put their women in a Wigwam by themselves, (*t*) for which they plead nature and tradition; another writes expressly such kind (*u*) of purification they have as had the Jewes.

15. The widdow marrieth (*w*) the brother of the deceased Husband, which was also *Moses* law, *Mat.* 22. 24.

16. Dowries for wives are given (*x*) by the Indians, as *Saul* enjoyned *David*, *1 Sam.* 18. 25.

17. The husband hath power (*y*) over the adulterous wife, to turne her away with disgrace, they have also other causes of divorce, as was in *Israel*, *Mat.* 8. 19.

18. They nurse their owne children, (*z*) even the Queenes in *Pern*, and so did the mothers in *Israel*.

19. The husbands come not at their wives till their children be weaned, (*a*) such an use is read *Hof.* 1. 8. and at *Pern* if they be forced to weane them before their time, they call such children Ainsco, *i. e.* bastards.

20. Among the Indians (*b*) they punish by beating, and

and whipping, and the Sachims if they please, put offenders to death with their owne hands, and secretly sometimes send out an executioner, as *Mark* 6. 27. *2 Cor.* 11.

25.

21. If a Brasilian wound another, (c) he must be punished in the same part of his body, and with death, if the other die, for they also answer an eye for an eye, &c. as the law was. *Deut.* 24. 19. c *Lerius* p. 2

22. When the master of the family dieth, he is buried in the middle of the house, (d) with his jewells, and other things he delighted in; the Spaniards were often made rich by such sepulchrs, and *Iosephus* (e) tells of much treasure laid up even in *David's* grave. d *Benzo* p. 1
291. 39. Ac
1. 5. c. 8.
e *Antiq.* 1. 7
c. 12.

23. The Indians are given much to weeping, (f) their women especially, and at burials; this was in fashion among the Jewes. *Ier.* 19. 17. Famous for this they were among the old heathen. f *Lerius* p. 2 c
267. *Benzo* 3
Laet des. *Amer.*
p 545. 642.

24. *Balsamum* (g) was peculiar to the Jewish Country, and thought to be lost long agoe saith *Pliny*; (h) if it were, tis now found againe in America. g *Benzo* p. 22
Acost. 1. 4. c. 2
h 1. 12. c. 15.

25. Their Princes and Governours whom they generally call Sachims, Sachmos, Sagamos, (i) are no other but heads of families, as it was of old in Israel. *Num.* 7. 2. i *Laet* Deser
Amer. p. 75.

26. The Indians have their Posts (k) and Messengers that were swift of foot, whom they dispatch upon their affaires, and they ran with speed, and such were among the Jewes. *2 Sam.* 18. 24, 26, 27. k *Acost.* 1. 6. c.
10. 17.

CHAP. IV.

Sacred and solemne rites and customes alike.

A *Costa* (a) affirms the Americans to have ceremonies and customes resembling the Mosaicall.

I. Circumcision (b) is frequent among the Indians, which some not observing, have thereupon denyed them to be Judaicall, and *Jo. de Laet* (c) is forced to acknowledge such venereous people have somewhat like to circumcision occasioned by their lasciviousness; but daily (d) experience declareth that they have indeed upon them this Judaicall badge. *Herodotus* (e) averreth the Colchi for this to be of the Egyptian race, and that the Phenicians and Syrians of Palæstina learned from them that rite; and though some have judged the Tartars to be Jewes, because circumcised, others (f) yeeld not to this, because they were Mahometans by Religion, and from them received that custome; but these people have cut off their foreskinne time out of minde, and it cannot be conceived whence they had this ceremony, but that it is nationall. And though the fore mentioned (g) writer endeavours much to prove, that there is no circumcision among them, and that some other people be so handled, whom none yet ever imagined to be Judaicall, but that of *Ier. 9. 26.* is not so fitly I thinke cited for his purpose; and *Grotius* tells him (h) confidently, we have so many witnesses that the Americans be circumcised, as it becomes not a modest man to deny it; and among the rarities brought from those quarters, *Pancirollus* (i) speakes of stony knives, very sharpe and cutting,

Hist. l. 5. c. 27.

Id. de procur. d. Sal. p. 6. 45

In Grot. part. P. 45.

P. Mart. p. 75. 290. 293. 26. 300. l. 2. p. 143.

Dr Helin Ges. 662. Laet. id. 127.

Id. p. 128.

In Laet p. 2. p. 59.

Tit. 1. de No. piter repet is. 2. Tellos Lapi. cos quidvis secan tes.

ring, and his Illustrator (*k*) *H. Salmuth*, shewes that the Jewes of old did use such in their circumcisings, knives of stone, which Sacrament omitted fourty yeeres in their travell, is revived by Gods command to Iesseua 5.2. Make thee sharp knives, *cultros petrinus*; *Arias Montanus* reads, *cultros lapideos* in the vulgar Latine, but the *Septuagint* doth not only mention those rocky knives, but adds, taken from a sharpe rocke, as if the allusion also were to Christ, the Rocke, that doth circumcise our hearts; *Lerius* (*l*) affirms he saw some of those cutting stones or knives at *Brasil*. ^k p. 135.

2. The Indians worship that God (*m*) they say, who created the Sun, Moon, and all invisable things, who gives them also all that is good. ^m Mart. p.

3. They knew of that floud which drowned (*n*) the world, and that it was sent for the sin of man, especially for unlawfull lust, and that there shall never be such a deluge againe. ⁿ Id. p. 444
Lerius p. 220
Acost. l. 6. c.

4. It is affirmed by them (*o*) neverthelesse that after many yeers, fire shall come down from above and consume all. ^o Id. de pro
Ind. Sal p

5. They beleieve the immortality of the soule, and that there is a place of joy, (*p*) another of torment after death, whither they shall goe that kill, lie, or steale, which place they call Popogusso, a great pit, like the expression, *Num.* 16. 33. and *Rev.* 19. 1, &c. but they which do no harme shall be received into a good place, and enjoy all manner of pleasure. ^p Benz. p. 3
Relation o
Maryland.
33. Cap. Sm
Lerius p. 22
Acosta p. 34
q Mr Will. l
p. 100.
r P. Mart.
418. 473 52
529 Godwin
of the Essen
in Jewish A
tiqu. Ma
vend. de Ar
christo. p. 1

6. The Americans have in some parts an exact form of King, Priest, (*q*) and Prophet, as was aforetime in *Canaan*. 529 Godwin
of the Essen
in Jewish A
tiqu. Ma
vend. de Ar
christo. p. 1

7. Priests are in some things among them, as with the Hebrewes, (*r*) Physitians, and not habited as other men,

men, and in *Tamazulapa* there be vestments kept like those Aaroniticall robes of the High-priest.

8. The Temples wherein they worship, (*f*) sing, pray, and make their Offerings, are fashioned and used as with the Jewes; at Mexico they were built foure square, and sumptuous, as *Ezek.* 40. 47.

9. The Priests have their Chambers (*i*) in the Temple, as the manner was in Israel. *1 Reg.* 6. 7.

10. They had places also therein (*u*), which none might enter into but their Priests. *Heb.* 9. 6, 7.

11. In their worship of *Viracocha* (*w*), and the Sun, &c. they open their hands, and make a kissing sound with their mouthes, as *Iob.* 31. 27.

12. They had almost continuall fire before their Idols, and took great care lest the (*x*) fire before the Altar should dye, they call that the Divine Harth, where there is fire continually, like that in *Leuiticus* 6. 9.

13. None may intermeddle with their Sacrifices but the Priests, (*y*) who were also in high estimation among them as they were among the Jewes.

14. Every Noble-man in Mexico (*z*) had his Priest, as Israel had the Levites within their gates.

15. In their necessities (*a*) they always sacrificed, which done, they grew hopefull and confident.

16. They burnt Incense, (*b*) had their Censars, and cake Oblations, as *Ier.* 7. 18.

17. The first fruits of their Corne (*c*) they offered, and what they gat by Hunting and Fishing.

18. At Mexico and some other places (*d*) they immolate the bodies of men, and as the Jewes of old, saith *P. Martyr*, did eate of their Beasts so sacrificed, they feed on mans flesh so offered.

Capt. Smith

123.

ofst. l. 5.

13.

1. Mart. P.

o.

d p. 351.

id. p. 314.

Acceß. P. 339

d. l. 5. c. 16.

4.

7

7

1

d. l. 5. c. 14.

ibid. l. 5 c. 9.

et. Mart.

Relat. Mar.

nd. p. 169.

ofst. 5. 16.

et. Mart.

522. 351.

bid.

19. In all Peru they had but one Temple, (e) which was most sumptuous, Consecrated to the Maker of the world; yet they had foure other places also for Devotion, as the Jews had severall Synagogues, beside that their glorious Temple.

e Laet. Descrip.
Amecr. p. 398
434.

20. The Idols of America (f) were Mitred, in a manner, much as Aaron was.

f Malvenda.
p. 169.

21. A yeare of Jubile (g) did they observe, as did Israel also.

g Id. ibid. &
Acoft. Hist.

22. *Lerius* tells a story of them, (h) much like that of Apocryphall *Bel*, and the Dragon, and his Priests.

h Id. p. 29.
Id. p. 169.

23. In their Idoll services they (i) dance and sing, men and women, almost as *Miriam*, with Timbrells, *Exod.* 15. 20. and then they offer bread, as it is in *Malac.* 1. 7.

i Benzo. p. 113.
114. cum tym-
pano.

24. They have hope of their bodies (k) resurrection, and for that cause are carefull in burying their dead; and when they saw the Spaniards digging into Sepulchers for gold and silver, the Natives entreated them not to scatter the bones, that so they might with more ease be raised againe.

k Cento ad
Solim. p. 256.
Benzo. p. 403.
and Hist.
of Peru.

25. The Indians make account the world shall have an end, but not till a great drought come (l), and as it were a burning of the aire, when the Sunne and Moone shall faile, and lose their shining; thence it is, that in the Eclipses of those two greater Lights, they make such yellings and out-cries, as if the end of all things were upon them.

l Benzo ubi
sup. & Solim.
Cent. ibid.

CHAP. V.

The third Conjecture.

THE Americans words and manners of speech, be in many things consonant to those of the Jewes, (a) *Seneca* hath that other reason, persuading that the Spaniards planted in Italy, because they both speake alike; and as *Volaterrane* (b) for his Countreymen, so some suppose the Greeks long since mingled with the Brittons, because we still have divers words of Græcian Idiome. For this reason (c) *Caesar* judged the British to be Gauls, in that the Cities of both the Nations were called by the same names. *Giraldus Cambrensis* derives his Countreymens Originall from *Troy*, because they have so many Trojan names and words amongst them; *Oenus*, *Resus*, *Æneas*, *Hector*, *Ajax*, *Evander*, *Eliza*, &c. and *Grotius* (d) therefore imagines that the Americans came from Norway, because they have many words the same with the Norwegians. It is then considerable to our purpose, how in this the Jewes and Indians be alike.

1. The aspirations of the Americans have (e) the force of consonants, and are pronounced by them not as the Latines and some other Nations, but after the manner of the Hebrewes.

2. The name of that great City *Mexico* (f) is observed in sound and writing to come very neare unto that name of our deare Lord, *Psalm* 2. 2. *Meschico*, and *Mexico* in their Language is a (g) Spring, as of our Master and Messiah; *the day spring that from on high hath visited us*. *Luk.* 1. 78.

3. The

Idem genus
a' cemeni, &
verba quedam.
ibi supra.
p. 30. p. 323.

ibi ante.

Defer. Cambr.
p. 266.
In Laet.
part. I. p. 30.

Pet. Mart.
p. 248.
Laet. ibid. p.
186.

Malvenda p.
169.

Gag. Sur-
vey. p. 46.

3. The *Ziims* mentioned *Esa.* 13. 21. and 34. 14. are (*b*) supposed to be wicked Spirits, deluding Man-^{h Jewes in} kinde, as Hobgoblins, Fairies, &c. Such are the *Ze-*^{loc,} *mes* among the Indians so often spoken of by (*i*) *Peter*^{i p. 88. 93, 94} *Martyr*, these they call the Messengers of the great God; every King among them hath such a *Ziim* or *Zeme*, and from them came those Predictions constantly current among them, of a cover'd Nation that should spoyle their Rites.

4. *Acosta* marvelles much (*k*) at the Indians, that having some knowledge that there is a God, yet they call him not by any proper name, as not having any peculiar for him, a Relique it may be of that Judaicall conceit of the non-pronuntiable Tetragrammaton.^{k Hist. 1. 5. c. 3}

5. 'Tis very remarkable that *Escartotus* (*l*) tells, how he heard the Indians often perfectly use the word Hal-^{l Lact. Deser.} *lelnjah*; at which hee marvelled the more, because hee ^{Amer. p. 53.} could not at all perceive that they had learned it from any Christian; and this is with like admiration recorded ^{164.} (*m*) by the describer of *Nova Francia*.^{m p. 164. 171}

6. In the Island of St. Michael or Azores, which belongs to America, saith (*n*) *Malvenda*, certaine Sepulchers, or Grave-stones are digged up by the Spaniards, with very ancient Hebrew Letters upon them, above and below, thus above, ^{n p. 154.} *למה חסדך* Why is God gone away; and beneath this Inscription *למה חסדך* Hee is dead, know God, which words seem to have a woefull enquiry of Gods departure from them, with a comfortable Declaration of his dying for them, together with an incitation to know him.

7. Very many of their words are like the Hebrew, which our *Novangles* (*o*) have observed, and in the general attested: A more serious disquisition into their Lan-^{o Mr. Will. Ke} guage ^{Pref of N. E} ^{p. 91.}

Pref. to Chal-
eau Diction.

Bodin. Meth
494.

Syst. Phys.

Pref. to the
old English
Bible.

guage would conduce much to finde out their descent, and helpe exceedingly towards their Conversion; and if it be said, the Jewes were ever tenacious of their Language, which (p) *Elias Levita* saith, they changed not in Ægypt, but if they be now in America, all in a manner is lost. 'Tis fit then to consider, that in all Nations, in two or three Ages there is a great alteration in their Tongues; the words of the League between the Carthaginians and Romans in fifty yeares space, sayth (q) *Polybius*, were so uncouth, and little knowne, that they could scarce bee understood; and (r) *Keckerman* sheweth, (r) that the German language in almost as short a time received the like mutation, and our Saxon Ancestors translated the Bible into English as the Tongue then was, but of such antique Words and Writing, that few men now can read and understand it, which waxing old, and hard, it was againe Translated into newer words, saith Arch-Bishop (s) *Cranmer*, and many even of those words are now strange and easie to us; in such suddaine Change of Language universally, wee need not wonder, that so little impression of the Hebrew Tongue remaines among them, if the Indians be Jewish; but wee may marvaile rather, that after so many yeares of most grosse and cursed blindness, and having no commerce, nor converse with other Nations, that any the least similitude thereof should be left.

CHAP. VI.

The ~~fourth~~^{4th} Conjecture.

THis which followeth next, at first sight, will appear a Paradox rather than a Probability, that is *Αδρανισία Americanorum*, the Man-devouring that is in America; for what an inference may this seem to bee; there bee Carybes, Caniballs, and Man-eaters among them, therefore they be Jewish? But let it be considered, Among the Curses threatned to Israel upon their disobedience, wee read *Levit. 26. 29. Yee shall eat the flesh of your Sonnes and of your Daughters, &c.* So *Deut. 28. 53.* Which Predictions, according to common supposalls, seeme to be fully verified in the Famine mentioned, *2 Kings 6. 28.* and *Lament. 4. 10.* and those words are spoken of things then done and past; but the Prophet *Ezekiel*, that lived about the same time, speakes in the future tense of some new, and till then unheard-of calamity, but such as should bee common afterward; *I will doe in thee that I never did before, for in the midst of thee the Fathers shall eat their Sons, and the Sons their Fathers, &c. Ezek. 5. 9, 10.* Before indeed, and at the Romans beleaguering *Ierusalem*, Women did eat their Children, but there is no relation of Fathers and Sonnes devouring one another, though this be foretold, and as a thing easily to bee taken notice of, (a) *Iosephus* in that last siege tells but of one Woman eating her childe, and 'tis like there was no other, because the whole City was astonish'd at the newes, and the seditious themselves did abhorre it; yea and when the Romans heard thereof in their Campe, it exceeded

a *Iosphi. de Be lo Judaico. l. 6. 8.*

D

credit

credit at first, and their Generall comforted himseffe against that most inhumane and hideous fact, by remembering he had often proffered them peace, and they had as often wilfully refused it; but that Prophet foretells an infelicity without parallel, both *de praterito*, and *de futuro*; *I will doe in thee that I never did before, neither will I ever doe the like*, Verse 9. And it should be a publick and notorious calamity, for *in the midst of thee the Fathers should eate their Sonnes, and their Sons their Fathers*, Ver. 10. Words implying, yea expressing more than wee can read was done, either when the Chaldees or Romans begirt their City: And the glosse of St. *Ierome* (*b*) strengthens this conjecture; When the Fathers, saith he, did eate the Sonnes, or the Sonnes their Fathers, is not related in any History, and yet it was to be done openly in the midst of them, and as it were in the sight of the Sunne. But if the Jewes bee planted in that Westerne World, we shall soone find the accomplishment of that Prophecie from Heaven, for (*c*) there be Caniballs and Man-eaters in great multitudes; some whose trade is *Homo cupium*, & *Homo capium*, hunting and hunting after Mans flesh, and devouring it, whose greedy bellies have buried Millions of them, these Carybes are scattered all the Countrey over, the Mauhacks are such, and so neare they are, or were to some of our (*d*) Planters, that finding an Englishman, they eate one part of him after another, before his face, while he was yet alive. If it be said, they eate none but strangers, or enemies, not Fathers their Sonnes, & *à contra*, (*f*) Peter Martyr removes that scruple, by affirming, if they want the flesh of Foes and Forraigners, they eate then one another, even their owne (*g*) kinred & allies, as he writes that added the *Cantons* to (*h*) *Solinus*.

If

In Ezek. c. 5.

P. Mart. p.

16.

ius. Benzo.

ii.

Prosop. of

Eng. part. 2.

auder. Chr.

art. 2. p. 519.

p. 275.

In fine.

188.

p. 55.

If it be objected, those Caniballs are of a different Nature and Nation from the rest, *Peter Martyr* answers that also, supposing all the Inhabitants to be of one stock, because they use all one and the same kind of Bread, every where called Maiz, and their Cymbæ Uni-lignæ, their Canoes and Boats are in all places alike, and as (i) those Western Nations generally call i Benz. p. 1 their Boats Canoes, and their Bread Maiz, so their common word for wine is Chichia, for swords Macanas for Kings Caciques.

And if the Americans be Jewish, the Spaniards have yet in another sense fulfilled that Prediction of *Ezekiel*, for their owne Bishop (k) *Bartholomeus de las Casas* writes, how they tooke Indians 10000, sometimes 20000 abroad with them in their Forragings, k Cruelit. pan. p. 50. and gave them no manner of food to sustaine them, but the Flesh of other Indians taken in Warre, and so Christian-Spaniards set up a shambles of mans flesh in their Army; children were slaine and roasted, men were killed for their hands and feet sakes, for those they esteemed the onely delicate parts: this was most hideous and most barbarous inhumanity, the Tidings whereof was soone carryed through the Land, and overwhelmed the Inhabitants with Horror and Astonishment.

CHAP VII.

Fifth Conjecture.

THE people that have not yet received the Gospell of Jesus Christ are Jewes, but the Americans have not yet been gospelized; and here three things come to consideration.

1. All other nations at first received the Gospell.
2. The Jewes before the end of the world shall be converted.
3. These Indians have not yet heard of Christ.

1. As the Scripture foreseeing that God would justify the Gentiles through faith, preached before the Gospell unto *Abraham*, saying, *in thee shall all the Gentiles be blessed*, Gal. 3. 8. Gen. 12. 2, 3. 18. 8. In like manner the glorious Gospell was soon conveyed to them, soon after the coming of Christ, even before the death of the Apostles; holy *David* spake of this promulgation, when he said, *Psal. 19. 1. The Heavens, i. e. the Apostles did declare the glory of God, &c.* For the fourth, *Their line is gone out into all Lands, and their words into the end of the world*, is applied by Saint *Paul* to this very purpose, *Rom. 10. 18. It was the command of their Master, Go teach all Nations, &c. Mat. 28. 19. and preach the Gospell to every creature, Mar. 16. 15. and they gave hereto most willing obedience, which we must have believed, though it had not bin so exactly recorded in undoubted ecclesiasticall Histories.*

stories. There we read often (a) that they divided the world into 12 parts, every Apostle accepting that which fell to his lot; but first they compiled the Creed, called therefore *συμβολή* or Collation, saith *Cassian*, (b) who was *Chrysostomes* Scholar; because that which was at large expressed in the severall volumes of the Bible, was by them briefly contracted into that forme; and to this he applieth that of the Apostle, *Rom. 9. 28.* a short worke we read it now, but of old it was rendred, *verbum abbreviatum* a short word, a short rule, to which all of them were to conforme their doctrine, and the fifteenth of *Iuly* was afterwards, and is still celebrated by (c) some Christians, in memory of their thus going to Gospellize the world; and it is called *Festum divisionis Apostolorum*: yea and the place is yet shewed to Travellers at this day, (d) where they are said to assemble upon this occasion. Very (e) many ancient writers, historicall and others, (f) agreeing with *Vigilius* in this, *Authenticum symbolum quod Apostoli tradiderunt*; and a little before he blameth some for venting such doctrines, as were neither (g) delivered by the Prophets, nor had the authentique authority of the Apostles Creed, and yet suppose it dubious whether that Symbol be indeed of Apostolicall constitution; and that they did not so divide the world to further their worke, which is so confidently avouched by the ancient, together with the Countries where each of them had their portion; yet we are sufficiently assured such was their commission, which they pursued with exactnesse and successe; so that in their life-time by their diligence the whole earth was enlightned: Thus Saint *Paul* tell his Romans, *1. 8.* *Their faith was published through the whole world*; the same is said to the *Colossians* also, *1. 6.* and *iniqua*.

a *Socrat. l. 1. c.*
 15 *Ruffin. Tri-*
partit. &c. Dis-
cessum ab invi-
cem Apostoli
normam pradi-
cationis in com-
mune constitu-
unt. Cyp. de
Symb. Ap.
 b *De Incarn. l. 6*
 c. 3.

c *Witkiland de*
Sphæra.

d *G. Sands tra.*

e *Socrat. ubi*
ante. Ruffin in
Symb. & Hist.
 l. 1. c. 9. *Tertul.*
de vet. virg.
 l. 1. c. 1. *Regula*
quidem fidei u-
na omnino est.
sola immobilis.
 & *inreforma-*
bilis. Clem. Ep.
ad Jacob. quam
Latin. fecit. Ruf-
fin. Ambr. Ser.
 138. *Aug. de T.*
 119.
 f *Disput. P. 2. 1.*
 g *Ibid.*

is used in neither place, lest curiosity should restrain it to the Roman World, but *ἐν ὅλῳ τῷ κόσμῳ*, is the former expression, and the latter is *ἐν παντί τῷ κόσμῳ* in the whole and every part of the world; and is it not considerable, as the injunction was, *preach the Gospel to every creature*, as was before remembred from Saint *Marke*, 16. 5. So Saint *Paul* avoweth that in his time it was preached to every creature, *Col.* 1. 23. such was then the use of that word; the name creature was especially given to man, the chiefe of all creatures below.

And this is unanimously acknowledged by the next writers, *Ignatius* (*h*) thought to be that little child called by Christ *Mat.* 18. 1. hath this expression *μία ἡ ἐκκλησία*, There (*i*) is one Church which the Apostles settled from one end of the earth to another in the blood of Christ, by their sweat and labour. *Tertullian* (*k*) in the following Century affirms that the Gospel in those very first times went beyond the Roman Monarchy, even to us Britons; and (*l*) *Eusebius* sheweth how the doctrine of salvation by divine power and cooperation, was carried into all the world: and *Iulius Firmicus Maturnus* (*m*) professeth that in his time 1300 yeeres since, there was no Nation under Heaven, East, West, North, or South, unto whom the Sunne of the Gospel had not shined; and not onely in all the Continent, but in every Island saith *Greg. Nissene*; Thus (*n*) *Bernard* also, and others; for when the Jewish fleece was dried up, all the world saith *Ierome* (*o*) was sprinkled with that heavenly dew.

2. The Jewes before the end of the world shall be converted to Christianity; this truth is to be found in the Old and New Testament, and hath bin the constant

h Ep. ad Philadelph. P. 4.

i Niceph. 1. 2. c. 35.

k Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca Christopaterunt. ad v. Eud. c. 7.

l Hist. 1. 2. c. 3.

m De error. profan. relig.

n De confid. 1. 2.

o In Math. & T. 1. Ep. p. 103.

stant beliefe of the faithfull in every age. The children of Israell shall remaine many daies without a King, and without a Prince, &c. Hof. 3. 4. yet Ver. 5. afterward they shall convert, and seeke the Lord their God, and David their King, i. e. Christ the Sonne of David the King of his Church, thus Zephani. 3. 8, 9, 10, 11. Zach. 12. 10, 11, &c. and some predictions in that Evangelicall Prophet Esay. Saint Paul applies to this very purpose, Rom. 11. 26, 27. from Esa. 59. 20. & 27. 9. yea and our common Master Christ telleth us, Ierusalem shall be trodden under foot of the Gentiles, untill the time of the Gentiles shall be fulfilled, Luke 21. 24. So Saint Paul, when the fulnesse of the Gentiles is come in, all Israell shall be saved, Rom. 11. 25. Some by Israell here would understand, Israell according to the spirit, that is, the Elect from all the Nations: but all along the Jewes and Gentiles are spoken of as distinct people according to the flesh, so all Israell shall be saved, that is, (p) a very great and numerous company, or many from every tribe, as we use to say *genera singulorum*, not *singuli generum*, or all the elect of them; for when their heart shall be turned to the Lord, the veile shall be taken away, 2 Cor. 3. 16. Ancient Christians have subscribed to this; In the end of the world saith Ierome (q) the Jewes receiving the Gospel, shall be enlightned, thus Augustine (r), Gregory (s), Bernard (t), Primasius (u), this was, this is the common opinion of Christians.

Cæpit ab his, deferitur ad hos, referetur ad illos (w)
Nostri fides, & erunt sub mundi sine fideles.

pillet à .
 cat. Ind. Mal
 vend de Anti
 christo.

q In Mat. 24
 In Hof. 2. 1
 Joh. 4. Mic.
 r De Civit. D.
 18. c. 28. & 2
 21.
 s Mor. 1. 35. c.
 t In Cant. se
 39.
 u In Apoc. 11.
 p. 31.
 w Sum. Ray-
 To mundi. p. 81.

From the Jewes our faith began,
To the Gentiles then it ran,
To the Jewes returne it shall,
Before the dreadfull end of all.

3. The third consideration hath a twofold branch.

1. The Americans have not, but 2. shall be acquainted with Christianity: and to the first all are not of this mind that the Indians have not heard of the Gospel: for (x) *Osfander* speaking of *Vilagagno*, and his planting there in *Brasil*, writes confidently, without doubt those people received the Gospel of Christ by the preaching of the Apostles 1500 yeeres since, but they lost it againe by their unthankfulnesse; and *Malvenda* (y) allegeth some conjectures that Christianity might have been among them, but these are so few, and so forced, that himselfe supposeth them rather satanicall suggestions, illusions, and imitations, than remembrances indeed of the Gospel.

There be (z) some records where every one of the Apostles planted the faith of Christ, in what Nations and Kingdomes, but they are all silent touching this part of the world, which indeed was not knowne till of late; yea some (a) conceive, they had no being at all in former ages, and that there was not so much as land or earth in those places; however questionlesse they be but of late discovery; for though some (b) will have *America* to be those Atlantique Islands mentioned by *Plato*, others that the Phœnicians arived thither more than 2000 yeeres since, and some further improbable conjectures there be, 'tis concluded neverthelesse by many judicious and observant men, that it was never heard

Doroth. Synop.
ieron. Catal.
verat. l. 15.
ffia. l. 1. c. 9.
seb. aliq;
Salmuth. in
incivol. de No-
ter Repert.
II. P. 7.

Bocha. Geo.
ac. p. 716.

heard of in this world, till (c) *Christopher Columbus* of Genoa brought newes thereof about 1590. when then, ^{e Acost. Ber. Pet. Mart. Leri. &c.} or by whom should they be made Christians? is it credible there should be no records thereof in the Annalls of any Nation? Could so great a part of the world become Christians, without any whispering thereof to any other; is it likely that all Gospel-impressions should be utterly obliterate among them? all the light thereof quite extinguished? and not so much as the least glimpse thereof remaine? as is also acknowledged by him (d) that hath written and observed so much of these nations. ^{d Io. de Laet Grot. part. P. 71.}

2. Seeing they were never yet enlightned, without question they shall be, for the *Gospell of the Kingdome must be preached every where for a witnesse to all Nations*, Mar. 24. 14. Surely so large a part of the world shall not alwaies be forgotten: Is it imaginable that the God of mercy, who is ^{e 1640 266} a lover of soules, *Wisd. 11. 23.* should suffer so great a portion of mankind ever to remaine in darknesse, and in the shadow of death? Is it credible or fit to be believed, that the wisdom of the Father who taketh *his solace in the habitable parts of the earth, and his delight is to be with the children of men*, Prov. 8. 31. should have no compassion of such an innumerable multitude of soules? The earth was inhabited (e) by degrees, from the place where *Noahs Ark* rested they went as the Sunne, from the East, and so ^{e Bucholz Chron. mei p. 136.} planted themselves forward; and the progresse of the Gospel saith (f) *Eusebius*, was in the same manner, and for this there is more than allusion in *Psal. 19. 5.* ^{f De Vir. Com. stant. l. 2. c. 65.} compared with *Rom. 10. 18.* That Western part of the world was last inhabited, and it shall heare of Christ also in due time, as certainly as there be people to receive

et Mart.
ad. p. 95.
244. Mal-
da. ibid.

ceive him, for he shall be salvation *the last to the*
last end of the earth, A&C. 13. 47. And the Americans
have a tradition among themselves, (g) that white and
bearded Nations shall subdue their Countries, abolish
all their rites and ceremonies, and introduce a new re-
ligion.

CHAP. VIII.

The sixth Conjecture.

THE Americans calamities are suitable to those
plagues threatned unto the Jewes, *Dent.* 28.
Such a comment upon that terrible Scripture is
not any where to be found, as among the Indians, by this
also it will appear probable that they be Jewes: and here
three things shall be touched upon. 1. The Jewes were
a very sinfull people. 2. The Indians were and are tran-
scendent sufferers. 3. In that way *in the* literally, as
was threatned to the Jewes.

De Arcan. Ca-
p. Vent. 16.
p. 282.

1. The Jewes were grand offenders; (a) *Galatinus*
mentions foure of their enormous transgressions, with
their ensuing vengeance. 1. The selling of *Ioseph* in-
to *Egypt*, where themselves were kept afterward in an
iron furnace, and dwelt a long time in an house of bon-
dage. 2. Their first rejection of the Messiah, typified
in *David*, 2 *Sam.* 20. 1. which was punished by the
Assyrians. 3. The sacrificing of their owne children
to Idols, and murdering the Prophets that deterred
them from such abominations, he calls their third great
offence, for which the Babylonian captivity fell upon
them. 4. Their fatall and most grievous crime was
the

the denyall of the *Holy one*, and the just, with desire that a murderer should be given them, Act. 3. 14. and this brought upon them, first the tyranny of the Roman conquest, and then all those hideous and horrid tribulations that presse and oppresse them to this day.

2. The Natives of *America* have endured the extremities of most unspeakable miseries : They are a Nation saith *Lerius* (b) cursed and forsaken of God, and the men of *Spaine* to their other cruelties added that most abominable reproach, these Barbarians are (c) dogs, unworthy of Christendome ; tis too true they were so used by them, as if they had bin such or worse, they did so weare them up with labour, that they became weary of their lives, the poore creatures chusing rather to die any kind of death, than to live under such bloody Masters and Monsters ; they scared the Indians into woods, where the men and women hanged themselves together, and wanting instruments sometimes for such self-execution, they helped one another to knit their long locks about the branches of trees, and so cast themselves downe headlong, their owne haire being their halters; and thus many thousands of them ended their daies with most lamentable yellings and out-cries ; their intestine violences and injuries among themselves were woefull by rapine, warre, and sacrificings of one another, many (d) thousands of them have been immolated in one day at *Mexico*; but their sufferings by the spaniards exceed not onely all relation, but belife, and surely the savages could not have outstripped the Spaniards in barbarous savagenesses, if those Infidells had gotten the upper hand of these Christians; a very prudent Cacique saith *Benzo* (e), that was neere an hundred yeeres old, reported freely, that when he was young, a very

^b *Lerius* p.

^c *Benzo* p.
111. 167.

^d *Survius* in
pend. ad Na
cler. p. 775

^e P. 221.

strange disease invaded those countrys, the sick commonly vomited many filthy wormes, such a wasting plague he said followed this calamity, that we feared none of us could survive it : and a little before your comming we of *Iucatana* had two cruell battailes with the Mexicans, in which above one hundred and fifty thousand were slaine, but these were all light and easie vexations, in respect of those terrible examples of intollerable insolence, avarice, and cruelty, exercised by your selves upon us ; thus he : we read, when the Prophet of God foretold *Hazael*, the evill hee should bring upon Israel *Hazael* said, *Is thy servant a dog that he should doe this?* 2 King. 8. 13. But the Spaniards did more evill things to the Indians, and shewed themselves with shame to be worse than dogs, witnesse that bloody *Bezerih*, though not so bloody as his Master *Didacus Salazar* (f), who set that his Mastiffe upon an old woman, employed by himselve, as he feigned with letters to the Governour, who seeing the cruell curre, by his more cruell Masters setting on, with open mouth comming upon her, falls to the ground, bespeaking him in her language, sir dog, sir dog, I carry these letters to the Governour, holding up to his view the seale, be not angry with me, sir dog, the Mastiffe as becalmed by that begging posture and language, abates his fiercenesse, listes up his leg, and besprinkles the woman, as dogs use to doe at the wall : the Spaniards that knew well his curstnesse at other times, saw this with astonishment, and were ashamed to hurt the woman, that so cruell a dog had spared.

3. The Indian sufferings have runne so parallell with those threats, *Deut.* 28. as if they had been principally intended therein also. Was Israel offending to be calamitous, *in all places, towne and field, at home and*

ried. Hist.

l. 16. c. 11.

cap. p. 295

abroad, &c. The poore Indians (g) for their gold and labour, were by the Spaniards hunted out of all places, corners and Islands, as if the end of their discovery had been indeed to make a full end, and a totall devastation of the American Nations. Against the sinning Jewes it was said, *Cursed shall be the fruit of thy body, &c. vers. 18. The pestilence shall cleave unto thee, &c. The Lord shall smite thee with a consumption, &c. ver. 21, 22, 35, 29.* Strange diseases have destroyed the Natives, as the histories of those countries doe relate; their cruell task-masters the Spaniards, did so much overburthen them with load and labour, that the (h) cohabitation of man and wife did cease: seven thousand infants of Cuba did perish in three moneths space, their mothers worne out with toyling had no milk to give them. The Lord said, *He would smite Israel with blindnesse, madnesse, and astonishment of heart, and thou shalt grope at noone day, as the blind gropeth in darknesse, &c. ver. 28, 29.* And woefull indeed is the veile of ignorance that is come over the Natives (i); they imagined the Island *Hispaniola* to be a living creature, eating and digesting like a monster: that vast sea-den or hollow place which they call *Guacca-jarima*, is the voider of its excrements, a fancy like that antique fable of the Demogorgon lying in the wombe of the world, whose breath causeth the flux and reflux of the sea: the darke part of the Moone (k) they take to be a man throwne thither, and tormented for incest with his owne sister, whose eclipse they guesse to be caused by the Sunnes anger; those ressonfalls of the aires reverberation, which we call eccho, they suppose to be soules, wandring thereabouts. How were those poore creatures astonish'd, when they saw themselves torne by (l) Spanish dogs, whose Masters

*E. Casa, Benzo,
aliq. Historici
passim.*

h Idem.

*i Pet. Mart:
p. 506. Guacca
Regio, jarima
podex.*

k Id. p. 525.

l Casa, p. 100.

would borrow quarters of Indians, men and women, for their hounds, and as commonly expose them to such a kind of death and buriall, as if men and women had bin made for dogs meate? how were they affrighted when the feare of Spanish cruelties provoked fathers, mothers, children, to hang themselves together? that Bishop knew of two hundred and more so perishing by the tyranny of one Spaniard. No (m) marvaile therefore if when the Fryer told *Hatbuey*, the Cacique, of heavens happinesse, and the torments of hell, and hee understanding upon enquiry that the Spaniards dying went to heaven, because they were Christians, let my lot saith he fall in hell rather than with that most cruell people. God said of the Jewes, *They should be oppressed and spoyled evermore*, ver. 29. *thou shalt betroth a wife, and another shall lie with her*, ver. 30. *you shall be left few in number, though yee were as starres for multitude*, &c. ver. 62. And these Americans were made by the Spaniards every where and every way miserable, without any helpe or reliefe: *Barthol. las Casas* upon fourty two yeeres sight of their suffering, sympathized so much with them, that he represented the same to King *Philip*, in hope to obtaine for them some favour and mercy, but he little prevailed. One of them boasted of his care to leave as many Indian women as he could with child, that in their sale he might put them off to his better profit: from (n) *Lucayos* to *Hispaniola*, about seventy miles, dead carcases were cast so abundantly into the sea, that they needed no other direction thither; and wee know it for truth, saith hee, that Countreys longer than all *Europe* and a great part of *Asia*, by horrid cruelties were destroyed, and more than twenty Millions of the Natives perished; (o) yea in *Hispaniola* alone, scarce one hundred

a *Casa*. p. 24.

n *Id*. p. 60.

o *Benzo*. p. 111.

dred and fifty, of two millions were left alive. In another place hee professeth their tyranny was so cruell and detestable, that in fourty six yeeres space they caused, he verily believed, more than fifty millions of them to pay their last debt to nature; for I speak, saith hee, the truth, and what I saw : they dealt with the poore Indians, not as with beasts, *hoc enim peroptarem*, but as if they had bin the most abject dung of the earth : and is this the way saith Benzo to convert Infidels ? Such kindnesse they shewed to other places also, *Cuba, Iamaica, Portu rico, &c.* It was said against Israell, *Cursed shall thy basket be, and thy store*, ver. 17. *the fruit of thy land, the encrease of thy cattle*, ver. 18. *all shall be devoured by enemies and other Nations*, &c. ver. 30, &c. For very much is said of their suffering in riches and honour &c. And the Spanish Christians that brake into *America* shewed themselves so covetous of their treasure, that the Natives with wonder said (p) surely gold is the Spaniards God; they broiled noble Indians on gridirons, to extort from them their hidden wealth, giving no respect at all to their Caciques or Kings. Memorable in (q) many respects is the History of *Attabaliba* the great King of *Peru*, who being conquered and captivated by *Francis Pizarro*, redeemed his liberty by the promise of so many golden and silver vessels, as should fill the roome where they were so high as one could reach with his hand, and they were to take none away till he had brought in the whole summe; expecting thereupon according to covenant his freedome and honour, he dispatched his officers and servants with great care and diligence, and did faithfully performe his bargaine, in bringing that vast heape of treasure together; but they resolve neverthelesse most impiously

Id. ib. p. 7. & 8

p. Casa. p. 12.
22, 29, 54.

q Benzo. p. 281

Pi. 289, &c.

c. 89.

Benzo. 179.
II. 315. &c.

to murder him, though with many arguments and tears he pleaded for his life, desiring sometime to be sent unto *Cesar*, then expostulating with them for their perfidiousnesse and falsehood, but neither words nor weeping, nor their owne inward guilt could mollifie those hard hearts, they sentence him to death by a rope, and the cruell execution followed; but (*) *Benzo* observed a miraculous hand of vengeance from heaven upon all that gave consent thereto: so that as *Suetonius* (s) records of *Cesars* stobbers, *Nullus eorum sua morte defunctus est*, every one of them found that consultation and contrivance fatall; *Almager* is hanged, *Didacus* his sonne is slaine by *Vacca de Castro*, the Indians kill *Iohn Pizarro* at *Cusco*, who fell upon Fryar *Vincent* also of the green valley, and slew him with clubs in the Isle *Puna*, *Ferdinandus Pizarro* was sent into *Spain*, where he consumed his daies in a prison, *Gonsallus PiZarro* was taken by *Gasca* and hewen in pieces, and *Francis Pizarro* that was the President, and gave judgement, died an evill death also, being slaine by his owne Countrey men in that strange land; so just was God in avenging so perfidious a regicide and King-murder, so ominous was their presumption against the honourable, vile swine-herds sentencing so great a King to so foule a death: those are his words, in whom, and his interpreter (t), he that please may read further, those murderers were base in birth and life, and they instance in despicable particulars.

It were endlesse to mention all the parallels that the Spaniards have drawne upon the poore Indians, according to the threats of God upon the sinning Jewes, Deut. 28. 43, *The stranger that is within thee shall get up above thee very high, and thou shalt come downe very low.* 48.

Thou

Thou shalt serve thine enemy in hunger, and thirst, and nakednesse, and in want of all things; and he shall put a yoke of iron upon thy necke till he have destroyed thee. 59. The Lord will make thy plagues wonderfull, &c. 61. And every plague which is not written in this Law will the Lord bring upon thee, untill thou be destroyed.

Their Kings and Caciques were no more regarded by them than the meanest, they enthralled all the Natives in most woefull servitude and captivity; their sufferings have bin most wonderfull, such as the Book of the Law hath not registred, nor any other record; they spared no age nor sex, not women with childe; they laid wagers who could digge deepest into the bodies of men at one blow, or with most dexterity cut off their heads; they tooke infants from their mothers breasts and dash'd their innocent heads against the rockes; they cast others into the rivers with scorne, making themselves merry at the manner of their falling into the water; they set up severall gallowes, and hung upon them thirteen Indians in honour they said of Christ and his twelve Apostles: And yet further the same Bishop mervailles at the abominable blindnesse and blasphemy of his Countrymen, impropriating their bloody crimes unto God himselfe, giving him thanks in their prosperous tyrannies, like those thieves and Tyrants he sayth spoken of by the Prophet Zachary, 11. 5. *They kill, and hold themselves not guilty, and they that sell them say, Blessed be the Lord, for I am rich.* Cafa. p. 19.

And now if all these parallels will not amount to a probability, one thing more shall be added, which is the dispersion of the Jewes, tis said, *The Lord shall scatter thee among all people, from one end of the earth, even to the other, &c. Deut. 28. 64. The whole remnant of thee*

I will scatter into all winds, Ezek. 5. 10, 12, 14. & Zach. 2. 6. I have spread you as the foure winds of heaven.

Now if it be considered how punctuall and faithfull God is in performing his promises and threats mentioned in the Scripture of truth, wee shall have cause to looke for the Jewes in *America*, one great, very great part of the earth; *Esay* had said, 1. 8. *The daughter of Syon shall be left as a lodge in a garden of Cucumbers*, and as *Helena* (u) found it in her time, *pomorum custodiam* an Apple-yard; so (w) *Cyrill* affirmeth in his daies it was a place full of Cucumbers; *Jeremies* prophecies of *Babylons* destruction, even in the circumstances thereof, are particularly acknowledged and related by *Xenophon* (x), The Lord had threatned to bring a Nation upon *Israel* (*swift as the Eagle flieth*, Deut. 28. 49. *Iosephus* (y) saith this was verified in *Vespattians* Ensigne, and the banner of *Cyrus* was an Eagle (z) also, as the same *Xenophon* relateth; and if the Jewes bee not now, never were in *America*, how have they been dispersed into all parts of the earth? this being indeed so large a portion of it; how have they bin scattered into all the four windes, if one of the foure did never blow upon them? Much more might be said of their sufferings from the Spaniards, whom the barbarous Indians thereupon counted so barbarous and inhumane, that they supposed them not to come into the world like other people, as if it were impossible, that any borne of man and woman should be so monstruously savage and cruell; they derived therefore their pedigree from the wide and wild Ocean, and call'd them (a) *Viracochete*, i. e. the foame of the Sea, as beeng borne of the one, and nourished by the other, and poured upon the earth for its destruction. (b) *Acosta* indeed gives another interpretation of that

Tripartit.

ft. 1. 2. c. 18.

Catech. 16. p.

3.

Zyropaid.

ftm.

De B. Judai.

l. 3. c. 57

Ubi supra. 7.

sol.

Lerins. p. 152.

lijq. Cent. ad

solim. p. 218.

Hist. l. 7. c. 22.

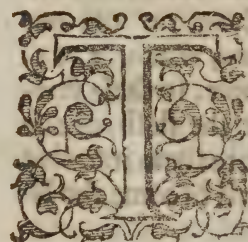
that word in honour of his Nation, but other (c) writers ^{c. Levins, alij. d p. 405, 406.} unanimously accord in this ; and (d) Benzo confidently averreth, that the conceit and judgement of the Indians touching the originall of the Spaniards, is so settled in them, that none but God himselfe can alter their minds herein ; for thus saith hee they reason among themselves, the winds tumble downe houses, and teare trees in peeces, the fire burnes both trees and houses, but these same *Viracoches* devoure all, they turn over the earth, offer violence to the rivers, are perpetually unquiet, wandering every way to finde gold, and when they have found it, they throw it away at dice, they steale, and sweare, and kill, yea and kill one another, and deny God : yea these Indians in detestation of the Spaniards, he saith, doe execrate and curse the sea it selfe for sending such an intractable, fierce, and cruell a generation into the earth : But thus have wicked sinnes drawne woefull punishments, threatned to the Jewes, and suffered also by these Americans, wherein the more hath bin spoken, not onely to deter all Christians from such inhumane barbarities, but to provoke the readers every way to compassionate such transcendent sufferers, the rather because as Canaan of old was *Emanuel's land*, Hof. 9. 3. *the holy land*, Zach. 2. 12. and the Jewes were Gods peculiar people, so these surely are either a remnant of Israell after the flesh, or else God will in his good time incorporate them into that common-wealth, and then they also shall become the Israel of God.



Part Second.

Some contrary reasonings removed,
and first in the generall.

CHAP. I.



Here be some that by irrefragable arguments, they suppose, evince and overthrow all conjectures that the Americans be Jewes : Apocryphall *Esdra*s in Historicalls may be of some credit, and that sentence of his by many is applyed to this very purpose; and these very people, the ten tribes led away captive by *Salmanasar*, tooke this counsell among themselves, that they would leave the multitude of the *Heathen*, and goe forth into a farther Countrey, where
never

never man dwelt, that they might there keepe their statutes, which they never kept in their owne land, and they entred into *Euphrates*, by the narrow passages of the river, for through that Countrey there was a great way to goe, namely of a yeere and an halfe, and the same Region is called *Arsareth*, &c. 2 *Esd.* 13. 40. &c. (a) *Acosta* is of opinion that these words thus produced by many, make in truth against this conjecture, and that for two reasons. 1. The ten Tribes went so farre to keepe their statutes and ceremonies, but these Indians observe none of them, being given up to all Idolatries: And is this at all consequent, such was their purpose, therefore the successe must be answerable? is it likely they should be so tenacious in a farre and forraigne land, that never kept them in their owne, as the next words expresse? His second Argument is of like force, for tis not said, that *Euphrates* and *America* be contiguous, or places so neere one the other, muchlesse that the entries of that River should stretch to the Indies; but hee tells of a very long journey taken by them, suitable to the places of their removall, and approach, which was to a Countrey where never man dwelt, and what Countrey could this be but *America*? all other parts of the world being then knowne and inhabited: Besides there hath bin a common tradition among the Jews, and in the world, that those ten tribes are utterly lost; in what place are they then like to be found if not in *America*? for they shall be found againe. Some conjectures that they came from *Norway*, and be of that nation, have bin mentioned, with the improbability also thereof; and now lately *T. Gage* sets forth his new survey of the West Indies, his long abode there, and diligent observation of many, very many remarkable passages in

Gages survey.
p. 71.

his travells; there I hoped to read somewhat of their originalls, and finde him (b) affirming that the Indians seeme to be of the Tartars progeny, his reasons are,
1. *Quivira* and all the West side of the Countrey towards *Asia* is farre more populous than the East next *Europe*, which sheweth these parts to be first inhabited; but if the meaning be, the nearer *Tartary* the more populous, therefore they came from thence, its falls in with the third reason. 2. Their barbarous properties are most like the Tartars of any; this argument militates with more force for their Judaisme, to which many of their rites be so consonant, both sacred and common, as hath been said. And thirdly the West side of *America*, if it be not continent with *Tartary*, is yet disjoyned by a small strait; but the like may be said of some other parts, that they be or may have been neer some other maine lands, and so by that reason of some other race and extract. 4. The people of *Quivira* neere to *Tartary*, are said to follow the seasons and pasturing of their cattell like the Tartarians; this particular, a species of the generall, delivered in the second reason, is there glanced upon, but all he saith of this nature, and others with him, are so farre from weakening our conjecture, that they may be embraced rather as friendly supports thereunto, if others have guessed right that conceive the Tartars also themselves to be Jewes. *Mathew Paris* (c), no meane man in his time, was of that opinion; in his famous history he mentions it as the judgement of learned men in that age, it is thought the Tartars, *quorum memoria est detestabilis*, are of the ten Tribes; &c. Yea and of latter times Dr *Fletcher* (d) a neere neighbour to them while he lived among the Russes as Agent for Queen *Elizabeth*, supposeth the same, and

M. Paris ad
n. 1240. mei p.
32. & 756.

n. M. S.

and giveth divers probable arguments inducing him thereto: the names of many Townes in *Tartary* the same with those in *Israell*, *Tabor*, *Ierico*, *Chorazin*, &c. They are circumcised, distinguished into Tribes, and have many Hebrew words among them, &c. for hee addeth other probabilities; yea and the same *M. Paris* (e) shewes that the Jewes themselves were of that mind, and called them their brethren of the seed of *Abraham*, &c. There was another transmigration of them when *Vespasian* destroyed *Ierusalem*; their owne, and other Histories speake little thereof: it might be well worthy the endeavours of some serious houres to enquire after the condition of that Nation since our most deare Saviours Ascension; a strange thing is reported by themselves, and of themselves, and with such confidence (f) that tis in their devotion. It saith when *Vespasian* wan *Ierusalem*, he gave order that three ships laden with that people might be put to Sea, but without Pilot, oares, or tackling, these by windes and tempests were woefully shattered, and so dispersed, that they were cast upon severall coasts; one of them in a Countrey called *Lovanda*, the second in another region named *Arlado*, the third at a place called *Bardeli*, all unknown in these time, the last courteously entertained these strangers, freely giving them grounds and vineyards to dresse, but that Lord being dead, another arose that was to them, as *Pharaoh* to old *Israell*, and he said to them, he would try by *Nabuchodonosors* experiment upon the three young men, if these also came from the fire unscorch'd, he would believe them to be Jewes, they say *Adoni-Melech*, most noble Emperour, let us have also three daies to invoke the Majesty of our God for our deliverance, which being granted, *Ioseph* and *Benjamin* two bro-

e *ubi supra*f *Buxtorf. Synag. Ind. c. 9. mei* 231

brothers, and their cosin *Samuell*, consider what is meet to be done, and agree to fast and pray three daies together, and meditate every one of them a prayer, which they did, and out of them all they compiled one which they used all those three daies and three nights; on the morning of the third day one of them had a vision upon *Esa. 43. 2.* which marvelously encouraged them all: soone after a very great fire was kindled, and an innumerable company of people came to see the burning, into which they cast themselves unbidden without feare, singing, and praying till all the combustible matter was consumed, and the fire went out; the Jewes every where published this miracle, and commanded that this prayer should be said every Monday and Thursday morning in their Synagogues, which is observed by them to this day saith *Buxtorfius*: In this narration if there be any truth wee may looke for some confirmation thereof from *America*. But that there be no Jewes in those parts, *Io. de Laet* endeavours otherwise to evince; as 1. They are not circumcised, therefore not Jewes; but their circumcision hath been made so manifest, that this reason may well be retorted; they are circumcised, therefore they be Jewes.

Grot:

Again the Indians are not covetous, nor learned, nor carefull of their Antiquities, therefore they are not Judaicall; in which allegations if there be any strength, it will be answered in the examination of those three following scrupulous and difficult questions.

1. *Whence and how the Jewes should get into America.*
2. *How multiply, and enpeople so great a Continent, so vast a land.*
3. *How grow so prodigiously rude and barbarous.*

CHAP.

CHAP II.

*Answer to the first Quere, How the Jewes should
get into America.*

THE Jewes did not come into *America*, as is feigned of *Ganimes* (a), riding on Eagles wings, a Hygin. Astr. neither was there another *Arke* made to convey them thither, the Angels did not carry them by the haire of the heads, (b) as Apocryphall *Habakuk* was b Bel, & Dra conducted into *Babylon*, these were not caught by the Spirit of the Lord and settled there, as Saint *Philip* was from *Ierusalem* to *Ajotus*, *Act.* 8. 5. They were (c) not guided by an Hart, as tis written of the Hunns, when they brake in upon the nearer parts of *Europe* (d), c Agathias Hist. m p. 142. *Procopius* reports of the Maurisii, an African Nation, that they were of those *Gergesites* or *Jebusites* spoken of in the Scriptures, for he had read a very ancient writing in Phœnician Characters thus, ἡμῖς ἰσχυροὶ οἱ φύζοντες d In Euzogr. l. c. 18. *ἑσπεροπόλεως Ἰησὺς ἡ ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ Νύξ*, *i. e.* We are they that fled from the face of the destroyer *Iesus* the sonne of *Nave*; and so the Septuagint names him, whom wee call the sonne of *Nun*, and as *τίρρις* formerly, ἀρετὴς was not in those daies of such odious signification: It may be said these might passe from the parts of *Asia* into *Lybia* by land, but the Jewes could not so get into *America*, which is thought by some to be very farre distant on every side from the Continent; (e) *Acosta* therefore supposeth e l. x. 19. the Natives might come at first by sea into that maine land,

land, alledging some experiments to that purpose, but in the next Chapter he judgeth it more probable, who-soever the inhabitants be, that they travelled thither by land; for though some few men happily by tempests, might be cast on those shores, yet it is unlike, so large a part of the earth by such mishaps should be replenished. *F. Cotton* (*f*), it seemes was puzzled with this scruple, therefore in his memorialls he propounded to the Dæmoniaque that Interrogatory, *Quonodo animalia in insulas, &c. Quomodo homines*, how got men and other creatures into those Islands and Countries. *Acosta* (*g*) subscribes at length to the sentence of *St. Austin* (*h*) for the entrance of Beares, Lions, and Wolves, that they arrived thither, either by their owne swimming, or by the importation of curious men, or by the miraculous command of God, and ministrations of the Angels, yet his (*i*) finall determination is, and he lived seventeen yeeres in that Countrey, *America* joyneth somewhere with some other part of the world, or else is but by a very little distance separated from it. And it may yet be further considered, the scituation of Countries is much altered by tract of time, many places that were formerly sea, are now dry land saith *Strabo* (*k*), a great part of *Asia* and *Africa* hath bin gained from the Atlantique Ocean, the sea of *Corinth* was drunk up by an earthquake, *Lucania* by the force of the water was broken off from *Italy*, and got a new name; *Sicily* saith *l)* *Tertullian*, the sea gave unto the (*m*) earth the Island *Rhodes*; *Pliny* (*n*) mentions divers places, Islands long since, but in his time adjoynd to the Continent, and the sea hath devoured many Townes and Cities, that were anciently inhabited; that *Vallis Silvestris* as the Latin translation renders, *Gen. 14. 3.* or of *Siddim*, i. e. La-

cast. P. Cott.

ubi supra.

De c. d. l. 16.

dem.

Geograp. l. 1.

Apol. c. 29.

in Alban. Var.

Hist. p. 455.

l. 2. l. 89. 91.

Laboured fields, as tis in Hebrew, was certainly a
vaile of slime-pits in the daies of Abraham and Lot, ver. 10.
 which very place about foure hundred yeeres after, *was*
a sea, the salt sea, ver. 3. Between *Thera* and *Therasia* an
 Island suddenly appeared, saith (o) *Eusebius*, and the sea ^{o Chro. Anne}
 perhaps hath broken into some places, and of one
 made a double Island; all Ages and Nations tell of the
 water and the Earth, how they gain one from the other:
 and thus some (p) have conjectured, that our Brittain ^{p West g. c.}
 since the floud, was one Continent with *France*, for the ^{Lamb. Pica.}
 distance between them, at *Callis* and *Dover* is but small, ^{p 13.}
 about twenty foure miles, and the cliffes on both sides
 are like each other, for length and matter, equally chalk
 and flinty, as if art, or suddaine violence had made an
 even separation. Thence *Hollinshead* writes confident-
 ly, because Lions and wild Bulls were formerly in this
 Island, that it was not cut from the maine by the great
 deluge of *Noah*, but long after; for none would reple- ^{Chron. 1. pa}
 nish a Countrey with such creatures for pastime and de- ^{p 225.}
 light.

And if these be no more but conjectures that *Ameri-*
ca was once united to the other world, or but a little di-
 vided from it, time and the sea two insatiable devourers
 have made the gap wider: But the question is not in
 what age, before, or since the Incarnation of our Lord
 the Jewes tooke their long journey, and planted there;
 but how the way was passable for them: *Malvenda* (q) ^{q Ibid.}
 speakes confidently that they might come into *Tartary*,
 and by the deserts into *Grotland*, on which side *America*
 is open; and Mr *Brerewood* (r) assures us that the North ^{r In Io. de L.}
 part of *Asia* is possessed by Tartars, and if it be not one ^{p 126.}
 Continent with *America*, as some suppose; yet doubt-
 lesse they are divided by a very narrow channell, because
 there

there be abundance of Beares, Lions, Tigers, and Wolves in the Land, which surely men would not transport to their owne danger and detriment, those greater
bid. p. 116. (s) beasts indeed are of strength to swimme over Sea many miles, and this is generally observed of Beares :
ibid. & p. 25. and (t) *Herrera* saith, the inhabitants of the West Indies came thither by land, for those Provinces touch upon the Continent of *Asia*, *Africa*, and *Europe*, though it be not yet fully discovered, how, and where the two worlds be conjoynd, or if any sea doe passe between them, they are straites so narrow, that beasts might easily swimme, and men get over even with small vessells;
Miscellan. p. 1.2. c. 4. Our Countrey man *Nich. Fuller* (u) gives in his suitable verdict for the facile passing into *Columbina*, so he calls it from the famous first discoverer, saying, from other places they might find severall Islands not farre distant each from other, and a narrow cut at last through which passengers might easily be conveyed; and *Acoſta*
Hist. l. 7. c. 3. (w) tells that about *Florida* the land runs out very large towards the North, and as they say joynes with the *Scythique* or *German Sea*; and after some other such mentionings, he concludes confidently, there is no reason or experience that doth contradict my conceit, that all the parts of the Earth be united and joyned in some place or other, or at least, approach very neere together, and that is his conclusive sentence. It is an indubitable thing, that the one world is continued, and joyned with the other.

CHAP. III.

*Answer to Question 2. How such a remnant
should enpeople so great a part of the world.*

THE whole Countrey of Jewry, whence wee would have it probable that the Americans came, is not above one hundred and sixty miles long, from (a) *Dan* to *Beer sheba*, and the breadth is a 7. 3. Ep. p. 69 but sixty miles, from *Ioppa* to *Jordan*, in *St. Ieromes* account, who knew it so well; and how some few Colonies, as it were removing from thence should multiply into such numbers, that so large a Countrey should be filled by them, is a scruple that hath troubled some considering men. *America* in the latitude of it is (b) is b Levins. p. 169. foure thousand miles; and *Bishop Casa's* (c) hath said c Antep. hujus 24. n. already, that the Spaniards in his time had foraged and spoyled Countries longer then all *Europe*, and a great part of *Asia*; it seemes incredible therefore that the Incommers, who were but few in comparison, as a little flocke of Kids, should so marvelously spread into all the Westerne World: for the Americans before that Spanish devastation, filled all the Countrey. But this will not seeme so difficult; if former examples be taken into consideration; (d) some have made speciall observation of the *Indians* such as had many children; tis much that *Acosta* (e) writes of one of the *Inguas* or Kings of *Peru*, d Verfleg. p. 188. that hee had above three hundred sonnes and grandchildren; tis more that *Philo Iudens* (f) tells of *Noah* e Hist. l. 6. c. 22. & *Quin* in *Gen. c.* the Patriarke, who lived, hee saith, to see twenty f Comeft. c. 37.

g Hist. l. 1.

h Prolog. ad l. 1.
i de Consolat ad
Helv. c. 7.

four thousand proceeding from him, all males, for women were not numbred. We use to say, *Rome* was not built in one day; and indeed *Eutropius* (g) speaking of the Empire of that City, saith, at first none was lesse, but in its increment it exceeded all others by many degrees, so that he who reades the story thereof, reads not the acts of one people, but of all Nations saith *Florus* (h); yea and *Seneca* (i) looking on *Rome* in its minority, and her immense magnitude afterward, is amazed thereat; this one people saith he, how many Colonies did it send into all Provinces, he writes of numerous encreases from other Cities also, as *Athens* and *Miletus*, but it will be nearer to our purpose to observe, how small the number of *Israell* was at his first discent into *Egypt*, how short a time they tarried there, what cruell waies were taken to stop their encrease, and yet how much, and how marvelously they multiplied, and then it will not be strange, that a farre greater number, in a longer time should or might grow into such vast multitudes. And for the first tis most certaine, all the soules of the house of *Iacob* which came into *Egypt* were seventy. Gen. 46. 27. Tis true also, though not to all so manifest, that the time of their abode in *Egypt* was about two hundred and fifteen yeers, and not more; at first appearance indeed it seems to be otherwise; because wee read, *Exod. 12. 40.* The sojourning of the children of *Israell* who dwelt in *Egypt*, was four hundred and thirty yeeres, but the *Septuaginta* addition is here remarkable *ἡ δὲ γὰρ ἡλικία αὐτῶν ἣν ἦν πολλὰς αἰῶνας.* They dwelt in *Egypt* and in the Land of *Canaan*, they and their Fathers, four hundred and thirty yeeres, and this is one of those thirteen mutations that the seventy Interpreters made; when at King *Ptolomes* appointment they translated the

Scrip.

Scripture into Greeke, which they said was done rightly by them, for Israel was indeed in *Egypt* but two hundred and ten yeeres, which collection they make from (k) the numerall letters of that speech of *Iacob*. ^{k Ben. Gor. p.} Gen. 42. 2. $\frac{1}{4}$ 20. and there be many impressions in the Scripture, evidencing that their abode in *Egypt* was according to this computation. Saint Paul first taught this high point of Chronology, where and how the account must begin, namely at the time when the promise was made to *Abraham*, for the Law was foure hundred and thirty yeeres after, Gal. 3. 16, 17. God bidding *Abraham* get out of his owne countrey, &c. Gen. 12. 1. makes a Covenant with him, ver. 2. 3. and *Abraham* was then seventy five yeeres old, ver. 4. *Isaac* is borne twenty five yeeres after, Gen. 21. 5. *Iacobs* birth is sixty yeeres after that, Gen. 25. 26. *Iacob* was one hundred and thirty yeeres old when hee went downe into *Egypt*, Gen. 47. 28. which together make two hundred and fifteen yeeres, and two hundred and fifteen yeeres after they came all out of *Egypt*; for when the foure hundred and thirty yeeres were expired, even the selfe same day departed all the Hosts of the Lord out of the land of *Egypt*, Exod. 12. ^{1 Is Voce Maronis}

41. The computation of *Suidas* (l) in the margent is consonant hereunto; and how these seventy in the space of two hundred & fifteen yeeres did encrease, is next to be declared, which is also plainly expressed, ver. 37. They tooke their journey from *Rameses* to *Succoth*, about six hundred thousand men on foot, beside children, so great a multiplication of so few in so short a time, may easily convince the possibility of a far greater augmentation from

1 <i>Suidas</i> thus computes the four hundred and thirty yeeres of <i>Israels</i> being in <i>Egypt</i> , and the land of <i>Canaan</i> From <i>Abrahams</i> going into <i>Charran</i> to <i>Isaacs</i> birth, yeeres	25
Thence to <i>Iacobs</i> Nativity.	60
From him to <i>Levi</i> .	87
From <i>Levi</i> to <i>Caath</i> .	41
From <i>Caath</i> to <i>Amram</i> .	63
From <i>Amram</i> to <i>Moses</i> .	70
From <i>Moses</i> to their <i>Exodus</i> , and going out.	80
Summe 430 yeeres.	

a beginning so vastly different, and the continuance so much surmounting. The Spaniards first comming into America was about the yeere one thousand foure hundred and ninety : the great dispersion of the Jewes immediately after our Saviours death at the destruction of *Ierusalem*, was more then fourteen hundred yeeres before, and their former importation into the City of the Medes was seven hundred and forty yeeres before that ; if therefore upon either of the scatterings of that Nation, two thousand or fourteen hundred yeeres, or lesse then either number be allowed for the encrease of those that were very many before, such multitudes will not be miraculous : besides, in all that time no forraign power did breake in among them ; there were thence no transplantations of Colonies, no warres did eate up the inhabitants, but such light battailes as they were able to manage among themselves, in all that long time they did encrease and multiply without any extraordinary diminution, till that incredible havocke which was made by the Spanish invasions and cruelties.

CHAP. IV.

Answer to the third Quare, about their becomming so barbarous.

IF such a passage through *Tartary*, or some other Countrey for them were granted, and the probability of so numerous multiplication acknowledged, the perswasion will not yet be easie, that Jewes should ever become so barbarous, horrid and inhumane, as bookes generally relate of these Americans.

Villagano (a) writing of the Brasilians to Master Calvin, speakes as if he had bin uncertaine at first whether he were come among beasts in an humane shape, so stupid he found them and sottish beyond imagination: But here every reader may take occasion to bemoane the woefull condition of mankinde, and into what rude, grosse, and unmanlike barbarities we runne headlong, if the goodnesse of God prevent us not.

Wee marvaile at the Americans for their nakednesse, and man-devouring, we cannot believe the Jewes should be given over to such barbarity: But in our own Nation the Inhabitants were anciently as rude and horrid, *עד כי ידעוהו לומר חסידים*, saith *Herodian*, the Britons knew not the use of apparell, lest their cloathing should hide the severall formes and figures of beasts and other creatures which they paint, and imprint upon their bodies; and *Hierome* saith, when he was a young man, he saw the Scots, *Gentem Britannicam humanis vesci carnibus*, and that even here of old were *Anthropophagi*, is averred by *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Strabo*. And to what hath bin said of the Jewes formerly, shall here be added.

It seemes strange to us if they be Jewes, they should forget their religion, and be so odiously idolatrous, although after so many yeeres; but, if the Scripture had not spoken it, could it have bin believed of this very people, that they should fall so often into such foule offences, as, if circumstances be considered, have no parallell. *Israel*, when but newly delivered out of *Egypt*, by many signes and wonders, with severall evident and miraculous impressions of Gods Majesty and power; yet in six moneths space all is forgotten, they make unto themselves a God of their owne, attributing unto it all their deliverance, and say, *These be thy Gods O Isra-*

rael which brought thee out of the land of Egypt. *Exod.* 32. 4. which base Idoll of theirs had not its nothing, till they were all come out safe thence; who can sufficiently wonder that those very people who saw and heard those terrible things mentioned, *Exod.* 19, & 20. which forced them to say but a while before to *Moses*, *Talke thou with us, and wee will heare, but let not God talke with us, least wee die*, *Exod.* 20. 19. Yea God himselve seems to admire at this, and for this to disowne them, telling *Moses*, *Thy people which thou hast brought out of the land of Egypt, they are soon turned out of the way, &c.* *Exod.* 32. 8. It may seeme past beliete any of *Iacobs* race should be so unnaturall as to devoure one another, as is frequent among these Indians; and would it not bee as much beyond credit, if the *Scripture of truth*, *Dan.* 10. 21. had not asserted it, that these sonnes of *Iacob* in former times when they had Priests and Prophets among them, and the remembrance of Gods justice and mercy was fresh in their minds, *That they should then offer their sonnes and daughters unto devills*, *Psal.* 106. 36. as they did in the valley of *Hinnom*, *2. King* 23. 10. smiting (6) on the Tabrets while their children were burning, that their cry could not be heard; tis not impossible therefore that the Jews should be againe overwhelmed with such savagenesses and inhumanity; nor improbable neither, if to what hath bin said three other things be added. 1. The threats of God against them upon their disobedience, *Deut.* 28. where be words and curses sufficient to portend the greatest calamity that can be conceived to fall upon the nature of man, as hath already bin in severall things declared; and *M. Paris* (c) so answers the objection, that the Tartars are not Jewish, because they know nothing of *Moses* Law, nor right-

Hier. in loc.

ubi supra.

righteousnesse, &c. If when *Moses* was alive, saith he, they were so stubborne and rebellious, and went after other Gods, they may be now much more prodigiously wicked, *even as these Americans*, being unknowne to other people, confounded also in their language and life, and God so revenging their abominations. 2. The ten Tribes in their owne land were become extreamely barbarous, renouncing all almost they had received from *Moses*, *Ezek.* 36. 17. & *2 King.* 17. their captivity is mentioned, and the sinfull cause thereof, more then abominable Idolatries; and they were not onely guilty of wicked, but even of witleffe impieties : God forbad them to walke after *the customes of the Nations*, *Deur.* 4. 8. and yet, as the Heathen in all their Cities, they built high places, making Images and groves upon every high hill, and under every green tree, and made their *sonnes and daughters to passe through the fire, using witchcraft and enchantment, &c.* *2 King.* 17. 8, 9. This was their religion and wisdome while they were in their own Countrey, and they were no better in the land of their captivity ; for it may be, they had not there the books of the Law, nor any Prophets among them, because tis said againe and againe, *They left the commandments of their God.* And if it seeme unlikely, that the Jewes being in America should lose the Bible, the Law, and ceremonies, then let the Prophecie of Hosea be remembered, where tis foretold, that *the children of Israel shall remaine many daies without a King, and without a Prince, and without a Sacrifice, and without an Ephod, and without a Teraphim,* *Hosc.* 3. 4. Yea and before that time there was a lamentable defection of religion in Israell.

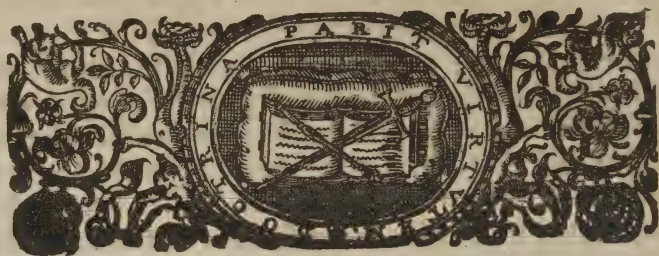
While they were in their owne land, for a long sea-

Chrysost. in 1
Cor. 2. m. p.
8.

son they were without the true God, and without a reading Priest, and without Law, 2 Chron. 15. 3. yea and as Chrysostome (d) affirms that the Book of Deuteronomy had been lost along time among Christians, and was lately recovered from dust and rubbish a little before his daies; so tis most certaine that in Iosiahs reigne, *Hilkiah* the Priest found the Booke of the Law in the House of the Lord, which when the King heard read unto him, hee was astonisht, as at a new and strange thing, and rent his clothes, 2 King, 22. 8. &c. and this was the Booke of the law of the Lord given by Moses, 2 Chro. 34. 14. which was then little knowne or regarded among them, ver. 24, 25. &c. But thirdly, the stupor and dulnesse of Israell was even admirable, when our Saviour came into the world, for they give no credit to their owne Prophets read in their Synagogues every Sabbath, the Shepherds publish what they received from the Angells concerning Christ, Luk. 2. 17. *Simeon* proclaimes glorious things of Jesus, and they will not heare, ver. 25. Wise men came from the East to *Ierusalem* enquiring and discoursing, but still they apprehend not; yea they shut their eyes against all the marvailles that Christ performed among them, such as would have convinced not onely *Tyre* and *Sidon*, but even *Sodome* and *Gomorrha*: the heavenly Sermons of the Sonne of God wrought upon stones, harlots, publicans and sinners, but those Jewes remaine inflexible against all, and at his death they still continue seared and stupified; the veile of the Temple is rent, the earth did quake, the stones were cloven asunder, and the graves did open, but their hearts are shut up still; yea and at his resurrection there was a great earthquake, the Angel of the Lord comes downe from heaven, his countenance is like lightning, for fear of him the keepers become as dead men, Christ riseth a-

gaine

gaine in glory, and the watch shew the High Priests all these things, they are hereupon convinced, but they will not be convinced; for they take counsell together, and with money hire the souldiers to say, *the disciples stole away his body while they slept*; if it be therefore well considered of what dark & darkned condition the Israelites were in these times, how many yeeres have passed since, what meanes they have had to increase their rudenesse and incivility, and irreligion; no way, commerce, or means left to reclaime them, it will not seem so strange if they be wholly barbarous, seeing also the vengeance of God lies hard and heavy upon them for their injustice done to his Sonne, *nam crucifixerant (e) salvatorem suum & fecerunt damnatorem suum*, saith St. *Austin*, they crucified their Saviour, and made him their enemy and avenger. It is no marvaile then, supposing the Americans to be Jewes, that there be so few mentionings of Judaicall rites and righteousnesse among them; it may be, and is, a wonderfull thing rather, that any footstep or similitude of Judaisme should remaine after so many ages of great iniquity, with most just divine displeasure thereupon, and no possibility yet discerned how they should recover, but manifest necessities almost of præcipation into further ignorance, grossenesse and impiety; the losse of which their customes and ceremonies, in so great a measure, in time may prove advantageous towards their conversion, seeing they cannot be obstinate maintainers of Mosaicall Ordinances, the love and liking whereof and adhesion to them, was ever a prevailing obstacle to the knowing Jewes, and that is a consideration tending directly to the last part, and particular, and will helpe, I trust, to encourage us who are already desirous, not to civilize onely the Americanes, but even to Gospellize and make them Christian.



Part Third.

Humble desires to all, for hearty endeavours in all, to acquaint the Natives with Christianity.

CHAP. I.

To the Planters, and touching the cause of their removall hence.



His discourse will be directed to the English planted there, and our selves at home; concerning the former, three or foure things may be minded.

1. Cause of their removall.
2. Hope of the Natives conversion.

3. Directions to it.
4. Cautions, and some other additions.

Deep considerations, without doubt, and mature, were in those that hence transplanted themselves into that other part of the world, but *quo jure*, by what right and title they could settle in a forraigne land was surely none of their last enquiries. *10. Bodin (a) rec-* *a Meth. Hist. P. 522.*
 kons five reasons why Colonies may be planted in other Regions. 1. Expulsion from their own native Countrey. 2. Increase of inhabitants upon a land. 3. Want of necessaries at home, and unseasonable times. 4. Desire to preserve and enlarge their owne territories. 5. Favour to prisoners and captives. The ampliacion of the Kingdome of Christ was expected here as a motive in vaine; but I finde it elsewhere among our Novangles, and it shall be mentioned in due place: for those are causes why men goe out of their owne land, but for the *jus* and right of settling in another they say nothing.

When the Bishop *De las Casas* had set forth his tract *Casas. p. 134.* of the Spanish cruelties committed in the Indies, some *&c.* guilty persons he supposeth suborned Doctor *Sepulveda*, the Emperours Historian, to undertake their patronage, which he did in an elegant and rhetoricall discourse, endeavouring to prove, that the Spanish wars against the Indians were just and lawfull, and that they were bound to submit unto the Spaniards, as Ideots to the more prudent; but he could not obtaine leave to print a booke so irrationall and unchristian.

Their more plausible plea is, that *Columbus* was first employed by them to discover some of those parts; but the same offer was before tendred to this our Nation, and

and the King thereof; yea and the English were as early in that very designe as the Portingales, for our (b) *Stow ad An.* *Chronicles* shew that *Sebastian Gabat* or *Cabot*, borne at *501, & 1502.* *Bristol*, was employed by King *Henry* the seventh, and he with some *London* Merchants, adventured three or foure ships into those New-found lands, *Anno* one thousand foure hundred ninety eight; and it cannot be doubted, but they had made some former sufficient experiments, before that their so confident engagement: *Purchas. l. 4.* Thence tis affirmed by others (c), that the English were there before *Columbus*, and about the yeere (d) one thousand five hundred and two, three of those Natives were brought unto the King, they were cloathed in beasts skinnes, did eate raw flesh, spake a language none could understand, two of those men were seen at the Court at *Westminster* two yeeres after, cloathed like Englishmen. But wee of this Nation have yet a more ancient claime, three hundred yeeres before *Columbus*, in the time of *Henry* the second, *Anno Dom.* one thousand one hundred and seventy; when *Madoc ap Owen Gwireth* did not onely discover the Countrey, but planted in some part of *Mexico*, and left Monuments of the Brittiish language, and other usages, taken notice of by the Spaniards, since their arrivall thither. *Mr. Herbert* (e) in his travailes doth not onely remember this, but sheweth it to have bin mentioned by many worthy men of late, and ancient times, as *Cynvic ap Greue*, *Meredith ap Rhice*, *Gul. Owen*, *Lloyd*, *Powell*, *Hacklutt*, *Davis*, *Broughton*. And *Purchas. l. 4. c. 13. p. 807.*

f Sermon to
Virginia Plan-
ters. *An. 1622.*
p. 20 26.

But yet more particularly, *Dr Donne* (f) allowes that as a justifiable reason of mens removall from one place to another, publique benefit; *Interest Reipublice ut re sua quis bene utatur*; every one must use his private for the

the common good : and if a State may take order that every man improve what he hath for the benefit of the Nation where he lives, then, *interest mundo*, all mankind may every where, as farre as it is able, advance the good of mankind in generall, which not being done by the Natives there, others are bound, at least have liberty to interpose their endeavours, especially, when by divine providence one land swells with inhabitants, and another is disempeopled by mutuall broiles, infectious diseases, or the cruelty of Invaders, all which have helped to sweepe away the Americans, while the English in the meane time did multiply in such manner and measure, as they could scarcely dwell one by another ; and because man is commanded more than once to *bring forth, multiply, and fill the earth*, Gen. 1. 28. 9. 1. he may well therefore, and justly looke abroad, and if he finde convenient and quiet habitation, he may call the name of that land *Rehoboth*, because the Lord hath made him roome, Gen. 22. 26. That is also a lawfull cause of settling in other lands, when a right therein is acquired by purchase, as *Abraham bought of Ephron the field of Machpelah*, Gen. 22. 17. And thus *Paspebat (h)* ^{h Declara. c} one of the Indian Kings sold unto the English in *Virginia*. ^{P. 1} land to inhabit and inherit ; and when Mr *Williams* of late (i) called upon our Planters in New-England to be humbled for making use of the Kings Patents, ^{i Mr Cott. at} for removing hence, and residing there, he is well answered among other things, that they had those lands ^{P. 27, &c.} from the Natives by way of purchase and free consent. Again, the Territories of strangers may be possessed upon the donation and fore-gift of the naturall Inhabitants, as *Abimelech* said to *Abraham*, *behold the land is before thee, dwell where it pleaseth thee*, Gen. 20. 15. and

Pharaoh said to Joseph, in the land of Goshen let thy father and brethren dwell, Gen. 47. 5, 6. So in Virginia King (k) Powhatan desired the English to come from James Town, a place unwholsome, and take possession of another whole Kingdome, which he gave them; thus the surviving (l) Indians were glad of the coming of the English to preserve them from the oppression of the next borderers; and surely divine providence making way, the care of improvement, the purchase from the Natives, their invitation and gift, some, or all these, may satisfie the most scrupulous in their undertaking, or else what will such our inquisitors say to maintaine the right of their owne inheritances? The English invaded the Britons the ancient inhabitants of this Island, and crowded them into the nooke of Wales, themselves in the meane time taking possession of the fat of this Land, by what right, or by what wrong I dispute not, faith (m) Grantzius; but such in those daies were the frequent emigrations of people to seeke out new habitations.

To these that other expression of the eloquent Deane (n) may be added, *accepistis potestatem*, you have your Commissions, your Patents, your Charters, your Seale from that soveraigne power upon whose acts any private subject in civill matters may rely; and though our forenamed Country-man seemeth to slight the Pattent of New-England, as containing matter of falsehood and injustice, that (o) imputation also is sufficiently removed by Mr Cotton in that his answer before mentioned. And yet further, the desire and endeavour to plant Christianity there, will fortifie the former reasons, and sufficiently vindicate the trans-plantation of people, this (p) seales the great seale faith that.

that Doctor, authorizeth authority, and justifies justice it selfe, and Christians may have learned this from our deare Master Christ, who coasted the Countrey, and crossed the seas (q) saith *Chrysologus*, not to satisfie humane curiosity, but to promote mans salvation; not to see diversities of places, but to seeke, and finde, and save lost mankind. And if such be the aime of our Nation there, we may with more comfort expect and enjoy the externalls of the Indians, when wee pay them our spiritualls, for their temporalls, an easie and yet most glorious exchange, the salvation of the salvages, to the hope of the one, the like sound of the other may give encouragement; but that is the next consideration.

q Ser. 16.

CHAP. II.

Hope of the Natives conversion.

Saint Paul enforced himselfe to preach the Gospell where *Christ was not yet named*, Rom. 15. 20. such is the condition of that forlorne Nation, a good subject to worke upon, and if so good an end be propounded, the successe by divine blessing will be answerable: and though the Countrey hath been knowne more than a Century of yeeres to Christians, yet those that came first among them, minded nothing lesse than to make them such. *Benzo* (a) relates abundantly how the Spaniards laid the foundation of their endeavours in blood, their Fryers and religious persons at first instigating them thereto. That Christian King indeed gave them leave to subdue the Caniballs, but

a Benzo. p. 76.
77. possimant.

they destinate all the Nations to bitter bondage, proceeding therein with so much rigour and severity, that the Dominicans are constrained at length to complaine thereof to the Pope *Paul* the third, imploring from him a Bull for the reinfranchisement of the Indians, which they obtained, and brought into *Spain*, and presented it to *Charles* the fifth, who made them free to the griefe and losse of some of the *Grande*es, whose wealth and grandour consisted most in slaves; they were most prodigiously libidinous *b*) also, contracting upon themselves most foule and pernicious diseases, that loathsome lust first brought into this world, the filthy and infectious contagion, now so much spoken of. Their covetousnesse was notorious also, the Indians scorned them for it, and for their sakes abominated the name of Christianity; and when they tooke any *c*) of the Spaniards, they would bind their hands, cast them upon their backs, and poure gold into their mouths, saying, Eate, O Christians, eate this gold: Yea their lives were generally so odious, and opposite to godlinesse, that the same writer professeth, their scandalous conversation deterred the Americans from the Gospel; they did indeed teach some children of their Kings and Nobles, to read, and write, and understand the principles of Christianity, which they acknowledged to be good, and wondered that the Christians themselves so little practised them; and thus one of them bespake a *d*) Spaniard, O Christian thy God forbids thee to take his name in vaine, and yet thou swearest upon every light occasion, and forswearst; your God saith, you shall not beare false witness, and you doe nothing else almost but slander, and curse one another; your God commands you to love your neighbour as your selfe, but

Id. p. 11. &c.

Id. p. 100.

Id. 248. &c.

Id. ibid. &c.

but how are the poore injured by you ? how doe you cast them into prison, and fetters, that are not able to pay their debts ? and you are so farre from relieving needy Christians, that you send them to our cottages for almes, spending your meanes and time in dice, thefts, contentions, and adulteries : He tells also of an Indian Prince, that was very apt and ingenious, he attained to a very good measure of learning and knowledge in religion, and was hopefull above others in both ; but about the thirtieth yeere of his age, he deceived the expectation of friends, and became extremely debauched and impious, and being blamed for his bad change, his excuse was, since I became a Christian I have learned all this, to sweare by the name of God, to blaspheme the holy Gospell, to lie, to play at dice ; I have gotten a sword also to quarrell, and that I maybe a right Christian indeed, I want nothing but a concubine, which I intend also shortly to bring home to my house ; And *Benzo* further addes, when himselfe reprehended an Indian for dicing and blaspheming (e), hee was presently answered, I learned this of you Christians, &c. And if it be said, *Benzo* was an Italian, and laies the more load upon the Spaniards, as no friend to that Nation, *Bartholomeus de las Casas* (f) one of their owne, and a Bishop also, is as liberall in telling their faults, as hath been in part mentioned already ; the Natives indeed are capable and docible, but these other tooke no care to lead them unto godlinesse, either by word or example ; but this, saith that Spanish Bishop, was the manner of their gospelizing them ; In the night they published their edict, saying, O yee Caciques and Indians of this place, which they named, wee let you all know, that there is one God, one Pope, one King of *Castile*, who is

e Id. p. 251.

f *Casas*. p. 27.
101. 115.

the Lord of these lands, come forth therefore presently and doe your homage, and shew your obedience to him; so in the fourth watch of the night the poore Indians dreaming of no such matter, men women and children were burnt in their houses together : He affirmeth againe, they regarded no more to preach the Gospell of Christ to the Americans, than if they had bin dogs, and their soules to perish with their bodies ; he tells further of one *Colmenero*, who had the soule-care of a great City, being asked what he taught the Indians committed to his charge, his answer was, he cursed them to the Devill ; and it was sufficient if he said to them, *per signum sanctis cruce*, by the signe of the holy crosse. The Spanish instruction then, it is evident, was the Natives destruction, and not so much a plantation as a supplantation, not a consciencious teaching, but a Lion-like rather devouring of soules ; their errors may warne and rectifie us, yea and sharpen our edge, seeing these poore Indians be not indocible, and shall be converted ; and be they Jewes or Gentiles, as there is much rudenesse and incivility among them, so many hopeful things have bin observed of them ; and as *Aristotle* said of the humane soule at its first immission, it was a new planed table, The Americans in like manner saith *P. Martyr* (g), are capable, and docible, mindelesse of their owne ancient rites, readily believing and rehearsing what they be taught concerning our faith ; *Acosta* (h) declares them not onely to be teachable, but in many things excelling many other men, and that they have among them some politique principles admired by our wisest statists ; their naturall parts and abilities were visible in that their whale-catching and conquest mentioned (i) already, yea they are saith *Ben-*

g p. 100. 104;

h Hist. l. 6. c. 1.

i Epist. before.

20 (k), very apt to imitate the fashion of the Christi- ^{k P. 32. 444.}
 ans; if wee kneele at our devotion, they will kneele also;
 if wee reverently lift up our hands or eyes at prayer,
 they will do the like: *Lerius* (l) writeth severall observa- ^{1 Prefat. P. 38}
 ble things, of their aptnesse and capacity, that they be
 quickly sensible of their owne blindnesse, easily deter-
 red from lying and stealing; they told us, (m) saith he, ^{m Id. p. 221. 22.}
 that very long agoe, they could not tell how many
 Moones since, one came among them cloathed and bear-
 ded like unto us, endeavouring to perswade us unto ano-
 ther kinde of Religion, but our Ancestors would not
 then heare; and if wee should now forsake our old usa-
 ges, all our neighbours would scorne and deride us; hee
 found them of tenacious memories, if they heare but ^{n Id. 230. 248.}
 once one of our names, they forget them no more: and ^{301. &c.}
 as hee walked in the woods upon a time with three of
 those Brasilians, his heart was stirred up to praise God
 for his workes, it was in the spring of the yeere, and hee
 sang the hundred and fourth Psalm, one of them desi-
 red to know the reason of his joy, which when he had
 mentioned, with the meaning also of the Prophet, the
 Indian replied, Oh Mayr, so they call the French, how
 happy are you that understand so many secret things,
 that are hidden from us! And when the Natives of
Virginia (o) heard Mr Harriot speake of the glory of the ^{o Cap Smith}
 great God, shewing them his booke, the Bible, many ^{P. 11.}
 of them touched it with gladnesse, kissed, and embraced
 it, held it to their breasts, and heads, and stroaked their
 bodies all over with it, and in p) *Guiana* they desired ^{p Book of that}
 Captaine Leigh to send into *England* for instructors, and ^{Planta. Anno}
 one of them was so well taught, that he professed at his ^{1632. P. 12.}
 death, he died a Christian, a Christian of *England*.
 But the (q) Sunne-rising of the Gospel with the Indi- ^{q Treatise}
 thercof.

ans in New England, with the breaking forth of further light among them, and their enquiry after the knowledge of the worlds Saviour, &c. hath been abundantly discovered by our Brethren there of late, to our very great rejoycing, and for the encouragement of them and others. To what hath been said, let me adde what some (*) suppose they read foretold concerning the Americans accessse to Christ, out of Philip. 2. 10. *At the name of Iesus every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, things on earth, and things under the earth, i. e.* Heavenly things, Saints already converted, earthly, such of the knowne world as the Apostles were then labouring to Gospellize, under the earth, that is, the Americans which are as under us, and as Antipodes to us, and live as it were under, beneath, in the lower parts of the world; for it is not like hee should speake of the corporally dead, their bodies not being under, but rather in the earth, & *in feri, infernus*, doe not alwaies meane Hell, and the place of the damned, but the regions as under us sometimes, that be opposite to us, as that Epistle, said to be brought by a winde from the upper to the nether world, had those words first, *Superi inferis salutem*, wee above the earth wish health to them under it; and thus the captive Indians (s) told the English Planters: Wee therefore seeke your destruction, because wee heare you are a people come under the world to take our world from us. Others finde their conversion præfigured in that threat, Mat. 25. 30. *Cast the unprofitable servant into utter darknesse*, those *tenebra exteriores*, outward darknesse (t) are *regiones extra*, the outer and forraigne nations in the judgement of *Remigius*; and some conceive the same to be fore-signified by the Prophet Obadiab, ver. 20. *The captivity of Ierusalem shall*

*Malvenda ubi
supra. p. 150.*

Cap. Smith.

g. 63.

Barradus. T. 2.

8. c. 4.

shall possesse the Cities of the South, i.e. of America, so situate, or, the dry cities, that Countrey being much under the Torrid Zone; *Acosta* (u) confidently applyeth ^{u De nat. Nor. Orb. l. 1. c. 15.} thus this text, as some others doe that of *Esa.* 66. 19. *Fredericus Lumbius* (w) in his booke *De vicinitate extremi judicii*, findes or makes divers other Scriptures look this way, upon that ground, three sorts of people should be in the Church of Christ at severall times, Jewes formerly, Christians now, and these Indians afterwards; he citeth *Hilary* thus understanding that parable of the talents, the possessor of five is the Jew, hee that had two talents is the Gentile, then knowne; hee that received one, a people all carnall and stupid; and according to this triple time of the Church, and order of believers, hee expoundeth other Scriptures, *Zach.* 13. 8. *Mat.* 13. 3. and the three Watches, *Luk.* 12. 38. and craving pardon of his rashnesse, or rather *fidei nescientis mensuram suam*, of his faith not knowing its owne measure, hee further allegorizeth the former parable, The Jewes had one Talent, the ancient and present Christians two, Law and Gospell, and the servant to whom five Talents were given, by which hee gained other five, is the Indian and American nation, last in time converted, and called after others into the vineyard; but it shall be more abundant in obeying the Gospell, more fervent in charity, more zealous of good workes, and therefore *Malvenda* (x) will have those ^{x Malvenda ubi supra. P. 154.} to be the dry Cities before mentioned out of *Obad.* ver. 20. Because they shall so much thirst after the Gospell; for that younger sister of the foure, faith (y) one of her friends in this *England*, is now growne marriageable, ^{y Ho. Sta. p. 194.} and daily hopes to get Christ to her husband by the preaching of the Gospell. *Comines* (z) said of the Eng- ^{z Hist. l. 1.}

Herberts sacr.
Poems, p. 150.

lish that they were much addicted to, and taken with Prophecies and predictions, I believe that is incident to all Nations, Some even among these have foretold of the mutation of their rites, and religion, as hath bin mentioned, and in reference to their Gospelizing (a) a divine and propheticall Poet hath printed his thoughts hereof in severall particulars.

*Religion stands on tiptoe in our land,
Ready to passe to the American strand;
When height of malice, and prodigious lusts,
Impudent sinning, witchcrafts, and distracts,
The markes of future bane, shall fill our cup
Unto the brim, and make our measure up;
When Sein shall swallow Tiber, and the Thames.
By letting in them both pollute her streames;
When Italy of us shall have her will,
And all her Calendar of sins fulfill,
Whereby one may foretell what sins next yeer
Shall both in France and England domineer,
Then shall Religion to America flee,
They have their times of Gospel even as wee:
My God, thou dost prepare for them a way,
By carrying first from them their gold away,
For gold and grace did never yet agree,
Religion alwaies sides with poverty;
Wee thinke wee rob them, but wee thinke amisse,
Wee are more poore, and they more rich by this;
Thou wilt revenge their quarrell, making grace
To pay our debts, and leave our ancient place,
To goe to them, while that, which now their Nation
But lends to us, shall be our desolation, &c.*

Here is a sad prognosticke for this *England*, but a joyfull calculation for *America*, longing, thirsting *America*; and if such be their ripenesse and desire, wee should also make haste to satisfie them, *The harvest there is great*, and the *Regions are already white* thereto; the *labourers indeed are few*, tis more then time that the *Lord of the harvest were more earnestly intreated to send, to thrust forth labourers into this Harvest*: they that have gone into those parts have not all had a care of this, the harvest of soules. It was indeed the profession of *Villagano*, and the purpose surely of *Peter Richiers*, and *Will. Charter* Pastors, and others from *Geneva*, Anno, one thousand five hundred fifty six, to publish the Gospel there, and they were very serious therein, yea and *Lerius*, (b) one of them, believes they had bin successfull also, if that Apostate Governour had not become a most cruell persecutor of the Reformed Religion in that strange land, where he most barbarously murdered three of those his owne Countrey men, and the aforesaid *Lerius* piously took care that their Martyrdom should be commemorated by *Io. Crispin* in his History; and though these were not so happy in that holy attempt, others have not been, will not be discouraged in such a worke; a worke worthy of the choicest diligence of those that professe the glorious Gospel in sincerity, who have had also many and manifold experiments of divine favour in their severall preservations, directions, and accommodations; and because their friends (with praise to God, and thanks to them for what is done and declared already) desire to know more of those their pious and blessed endeavours, Let me adde a third consideration, Wishes of furtherance and direction in such great and gracious employments, which shall

b *Lerius*. p. 6
300. 338.

be, I hope, and pray, as a spurre to more able advisers to bring in every one somewhat or other towards the erecting of a Tabernacle for our God in America.

CHAP. III:

Directions towards the conversion of the Natives.

In loc.

Agathias. l. i.

SOME give violent counsell here, presuming they find it in that parable, Luk. 14. 23. *compell them to come in*; but judicious (a) *Austin* calls this *Amoris, non timoris tractum*, not a force of feare, but of love, producing the example of a sheepe following the shepherd holding a green bough in his hand; and tis the sentence of a serious Historian (b) among the Gentiles, such are worthy of pittie not hatred, that erre from the truth, for they doe it not willingly, but being mistaken in judgement, they adhere to their first received opinions; and the Saints in the first times never thought outward compulsion a fit meane to draw on inward assent. The Evangelicall Prophet foretold this, *They shall not hurt nor destroy in all my holy mountaine saith the Lord*, Esa. 65. last. And our most deare Lord himselfe saith, *The sonne of man is not come to destroy mens lives, but to save them*, Luk. 9. 56. Saint *Iames* derives the pedigree of that wisdom which *hath bitter envying and strife, though it be but in heart*, though it may rejoyce and thinke highly of it selfe, yet its parentage is from that Cerberus of iniquity, *the world, the flesh, and the devill,*

devill, Jam. 3. 15. But regenerated Saints delight surely in that wisdom which is from above, and that is *first pure, then peaceable, gentle, easie to be intreated, full of mercy, &c.* Jam. 3. 17. Full of mercy, no roome therefore for violence and cruelty; and the holy men of the next ages were children of this wisdom. 'Tis not Religion, saith *Tertullian* (c), to compell Religion, which ought to be introduced by perswasion, not force; for even sacrifices of old were expostulated from willing mindes; our Church hath nothing to doe with murther, and bonds. (d) *Athanasius* never committed any man to a Goaler, saith hee himselfe in his Apology; and againe, the truth is not to be preached with swords, and darts, and Armies, but by reason and Arguments, which finde no place among them whose contradiction is requited with suffering, banishment, and death: the Ancient Christians abound with mentionings of this kind; It is said indeed of (e) *Charles* the great, that conquering the Saxons, he commanded them to embrace Christianity, and that he dealt in such a manner with the Hungarians, and some others; yea and though there be that speake the like of *Constantine*, yet *Eusebius* (f) writeth confidently, he wished all, commanded no man to be a Christian, and for this *Orosius* (g) commends him, that he shut up the Pagan Temples, but offer'd no violence to mens persons. The Devill indeed, because he is no friend to truth, comes with axes and hatchets, but our Saviour is gentle, and with a sweet voice saith, *Open unto me my sister, my love, &c.* Cant. 5. 2, 5. and if they open, he enters, if not, he departeth, saith *Athanasius* in the fore-cited place.

Four things did especially assist in the first covering of people to Christ, besides those miraculous

e Ad Scap. in.

d Apolog. 2. 300. 450.

e Crantz. l. 1. c. 7. l. 2.

f De Vita. Cor. l. 2. c. 55.

g Hist. p. 100

helps; and if they be now conscienciously practised, God will shew himselfe mervellous in his blessing.

1. Language, the necessity thereof was visible in *those cloven tongues as of fire*, the history whereof wee read *Act. 2. 1. &c.* Men must learne the speech of the Natives, that dealing by Interpreters must needs be difficult, tedious, and not so successfull; *Meinardus (h)* of old first gained the tongue of the Livonians, and then became an happy instrument of their conversion; and *(i) Chrysostome* did the like with the Scythians; and the French Colony *(k)* propounded and promised the same course at their first planting in America, as they certified Mr *Calvin* in their letters; and the English in *(h) Virginia* labouring to bring the Natives to Christianity, were woefully impeded therein by the ignorance of their language, which defect in themselves they did both acknowledge and bewaile. 2. *Labouring in the word* was required and practised, *Mat. 28. Act. 20. 18.* and *passim* Preachers should be appointed with all diligence to instruct the Indians; for *men are begotten to Christ by the word of truth*, *Jam. 1. 18.* The Iberians *(m)* received the first inckling of the gospel by a Christian maid-servant that was a captive among them; and they sent afterwards unto *Constantine* the Emperour for Preachers; the old Indian told the Spanish priest *(n)* complaining of their averfenesse to the Gospel, The lawes of Christ wee confesse are better than ours, but wee cannot learne them for want of teachers, wherein he spake the truth, the very truth saith *Acosta*, to our very shame and confusion. 3. The piety and holinesse of those Apostolicall Christians was exceeding and exemplary, by which as well as by their preaching they woo'd and wonne Kingdomes and people to Christianity; their

*Tripartit.
1c. 6. 7.*

*Vit. per G.
utiar.
Ep. p. 439.*

*Cap. Smith.
20. 37. &c.*

*Sozem. l. 2.
6.*

Hist. l. 6. c. 25

their enemies could find no other fault in them, but that that they were Christians : our deare Masters generall command was universally practised, the light of their holy lives did shine to Gods glory, and the benefit of others; thus *Victor Viicensis* (o) sheweth that *Caprapicta* was converted as well by the piety and godlinesse, as by the preaching of the Africans; as on the other side the impiety of the Spaniards deterred the Americans from the Gospell. 4. Blessing was fetched downe from heaven by prayer, this was their *work*, their only worke in a manner, prayer and *ministration of the word*, Act. 6.

4. Thus (p) *Socrates* reporteth, that after seven daies fasting and supplication the Burgundians were Christianized; so *Grantzins* (q) tells of those northern Nations that by prayer and preaching they prevailed to bring many other people to Christ : If men doe now worke with these tooles, the building will goe up apace, the foundation being laid in the honour of God by the conversion of those that yet remaine in the shadow of death; in all which some furtherance might be found, by knowing and observing the dispositions, fashions, and customes of the Natives, which would also in a good measure be understood by serious converses with them, and by severall bookes that from severall places upon severall occasions have been written of them; and to all let be added studious industry, that some Indian children be taught Christianity, and trained up to such abilities that they may have skill to instruct their own Countrey men.

It was *Gregories* counsell to further the conversion of our Countrey men here, they should buy English children and youths of seventeen or eighteen yeeres, that might be educated in Gods service, and helpful this way.

The

The Franciscan that had been so many yeeres among them, and learned two of their languages, and used much diligence in this worke in his way, told *Benzo* (r), that of necessity such a course must be taken to Gospelize them, all other endeavours would be fruitlesse and labour in vaine; and that writer (s) sheweth how those of *Pern* were well contented to deliver their young ones to be taught in Christianity; and surely their Fathers and Countrey-men would sooner listen unto them than unto strangers. And in all these the good counsell of the holy Apostle must be remembred, walke wisely toward them which are without, *Colos.* 4. 5. not onely in watchfulnesse and care to prevent all dangers from them, but in the most pious wisdom of winning soules, *Prov.* 11. 30. by setting before them in practise also the examples of every grace and vertue, with the perfect hatred of all vice and ungodlinesse; and let me have favour here to commend 3 or 4 cautions.

CHAP. IV.

Cautions.

In Math. 16.

1. **T**Ake heed and beware of cruelty, the God of mercy hates nothing so much, saith (a) *Theophilact* as unmercifulnesse; the badge of Christ is clemency, his livery love; by this it shall be knowne that you are my Disciples, saith our deare Master himselfe, if yee love one another, *Iob.* 13. 35. Other mens followers were known by their garments and colours, but charity and love made the first Christians

stians famous over all the old heathen world, but in the new World the Spaniards die was not so black as bloudy, and the Indians called them (b) Yares, i. e. devills, b Casus. p. 66. so little humanity, as they conceived, was visible among them. The same Bishop, when he made an whole book of the Spanish cruelties which he saw executed by them on the Indians, protesteth it was his opinion, that hee scarce mentioned one of a thousand of their tyrannies; p. 35. and more than once or twice he averreth, that they allwaies grew from bad to worse, and exceeded themselves in their diabolically doings. p. 34. 99. Nothing is more odious to this day than their name in those Countries; for where ever the Spanish Christians displayed their banners saith Benzo (c), they imprinted upon the Natives c p. 11. by their horrid cruelties, eternall monuments of implacable hatred towards them; but the faire, civill, and gentle deportment of our Nation to the Natives, hath already wonne much upon them, as is acknowledged by d Io. de Laet. Descrip. Amer. pref. a (d) forraigne pen.

2. Take heed and beware of covetousnesse, tis our sweet Saviours own ingeminated command, *Luk. 12. 15.* happy shall the Natives be, and we also, if they find our conversation without covetousnesse, *Heb. 13. 5.* that they may see and say, the Englishmen seeke not ours, but us, and us, not to make us slaves to themselves, but fellow servants to Christ our common Master; they saw the Spaniards so guilty of this (e) evill, that they conceived them to adore no other God but gold, the observation of which fetched from (f) Benzo that pious ex- e Casus. p. 22. optation, I wish to God, saith hee, wee were no more addicted to earthly things than they, the name of Christian would be glorious were it not for our covetousnes; the Spaniards indeed tell faire stories, some of them, as f p. 118.

if their sole desire had been to Christianize the Natives, when indeed all their endeavour was to satisfie their lust and avarice; and *Acosta* (g) himselfe cannot deny but that his Countrey men did commit many great outrages for gold and silver; but where those metalls were not to be found, they made no stay, continued not in such places; and *Benzo* (h) is large in producing their frequent and suddaine removes upon this occasion, and he tells that the Bracamorians are unsubdued by the Spaniards to this day, not so much because they are a warlike people in their kind, but especially by reason of their poverty and indigence.

3. Take heed and beware of complying with them in any of their rites and ceremonies, if we intend they should indeed come out of *Egypt*, let not an hoofe be left; as *Exod.* 10. 25. let them have Christian religion purely, without blinding or blending; the wisdom of the flesh must not here be heard, wee must listen to no other but the counsell of the Spirit. It was (i) good advice the godly Bishop and martyr *Hooper* gave to King *Edward* the sixth and his honourable privy Councillors, As yee have taken away the Masse from the people, so take from them her feathers also, the Altar, vestments, and such like as apparell'd her: there hath not doubtlesse, been any one thing so powerfull in begetting and maintaining doctrinall quarrells in Christendome, as the unhappy complication with nations and people in some of their supposed tollerable rites at their first approaching to Christianity; the Pagans of old, saith *Rhenanus* (m), were relieved by the mutation of some things in their religion, whose universall abolition had irritated, if not totally scared them from us; and *Acosta* (n) concurreth with him in this matter, even in reference.

g *Hist.* l. 4 c. 2.

h p. 204.

i Ep. before
arm. in Jona.

m In Tertul.
103.

n *Hist.* l. 6 c. 28

rence to the Indians : How this policy prevailed at first in the Church was long ago observed, and it became the lamentation of latter times, when men were more tenacious of humane superstructures, than of the fundamentals laid by Jesus Christ, the shell and shadow of Gentile ceremony is yet more carefully hunted after by the Man of Rome, than the most solid and substantial truths of the Gospel ; pitty it is, that sense and eye-dazlelings should prevaile more than divine verities, that abundance of good things should breed surfeits, and yet it will ever be thus, where there is want of care and spirituall exercise at home, and but cold endeavours to promote piety and godlinesse abroad.

4. Take heed and beware of all and every ungodlinesse, not onely for your owne sakes, but that the sweet name of our God be not blasphemed among the Nations, Rom. 2. 24. Holy examples are a nearer way to righteousness than verball precepts and instructions ; the Indians may, *even without the word, be won to the truth by a godly conversation*, as St. Peter speaketh in the like case, 1 Pet. 3. 1. a corrupt life is a violent argument perswading to evill ; the Americans were scared from Christianity by the scandalous iniquities of the Spaniards.

The evil example of one ungodly Christian did more hinder the Indians conversion, than an hundred of their religious could further it, * he saith it, who saw what he spake, for they are verily perswaded that of all the Gods in the world, the Spaniards God is the worst, because hee hath such abominable and wicked servants. *Id. ibid.* Benzo (i) tells of a confabulation himselfe had with an old Indian, who in serious discourse said unto him, O Christian ! what kind of things be Christians, they exact Mayz, Honey, Silke, an Indian woman for a concu-

bine, they require gold and silver, Christians will not worke, they dice, blasphemie, &c. when I replyed, evil Christians onely doe such things, not such as be good, his answer was ready, but where are those good Christians? I could never yet see one of them; and not this American onely, but a Franciscan Fryer publicly affirmed, that not a Priest, nor Monke, nor Bishop in all India, was worthy of the name of a good man; *Dida-*

Benzo. p. 257.

cus Lopez (k) in his Epistle to the Bishop of *Guattimala*, saith, the Christians were so prodigiously wicked, that they were odious not onely to heaven and Angells, but even to the earth, and devills; doe you believe saith hee, the Indians will become Christians, when your selves are not so but in name onely, and in title? surely those silly nations will sooner be perswaded to good by the example of one daies conversation, than by an whole yeers preaching; for to what purpose doe wee strew among the people odoriferous roses with our tongues and language, if we sting and vex them in the meane time with the thornes of our wicked doings.

But our Countrey men take care to follow the aforementioned injunction of the holy Apostle, *Col. 4. 5.* they walke righteously, or as in our old English it was, in right wisenesse, so they called righteousnesse, towards them without; and so their charter on earth, as well as those letters patents from Heaven, wills that the English be so religiously, peaceably, and civilly governed, as their good life and orderly conversation may winne and incite the Natives of the Countrey to the knowledg and obedience of the onely true God and Saviour of mankind, and the christian faith, which in our regall intention and the Adventurers free profession, is the principall end of this plantation.

barter.

And

And let these words be understood, as awakenings to those of our Nation there, and our selves also, that wee all labour mutually, and from our hearts, to propagate the Gospell there, because wee, who *eate every man of his owne vine, and of his owne figtree, and drinke every man water out of his own cisterne,* Esa. 36. 16. should witness our thankfulness unto God, for these favours, by sympathizing affections towards our brethren there, and the Natives.

CHAP. V.

To the English here, and first in behalfe of the Planters there.

They should have our hearts and love for many reasons, How many felicities did they forsake, both of the right hand, and of the left, in respect of estate, friends, and the comfort of their owne native soile? It was said by the Prophet, *Weepe for him that goeth out, for hee shall returne no more to see his owne Country,* Jer. 22. 20. Besides, that *dulcis amor patriæ*, how many hazards did they runne into by dangerous and tedious sea-voyages? they were exposed to divers certaine inconveniences, not only in regard of externalls, change of aire, diet, &c. but change of men especially, having little security, because they were in daily dread of Indian trechery, which might then fall upon them, when they supposed it most remote; they have also left more roome at home, of which wee were wont to have more need than company, which encreased so fast, that

Clapm
an. Reip.
52.

wee were ready to extrude one another; and by them we have more strength abroad, because transplanted colonies (a) be domestique fortifications, though they have been invented sometimes, and used to abate popular undertakings, but I meane it in the Roman interpretation, the Nations where they fix, are reduced by degrees to their fashions, lawes, and commands: yet some have unnaturally followed those our Countrey men with reproaches, accounting them so base, as not worthy to be *set with the dogs of their flocke*, as one to them applied that of Job 30. 1.

Caroli.

To the Westerne Plantation indeed, at first men of meane condition generally resorted, but soon after people of better ranke followed; divers of good families, and competent estates went into *Virginia*, and settled in some Islands thereabouts, but because those of New-England pretended more to Religion than the rest, they are more loaden with uncivill language, but most injuriously; for the transplanting Novangles were many of them severally eminent, some of noble extract, divers Gentlemen descended from good Families; their first Charter mentions three Knights, among other men of worth; and it seemes their example, or somewhat else was like to prevaile with many others of no meane condition, so that eleven of the then Privy Counsell directed their letters in *December*, one thousand six hundred thirty foure, to the Warden of the Cinque ports, taking notice that severall persons went over with their families, and whole estates, forbidding subsidy men, or of the value of subsidy men to be imbarqued without speciall licence and attestation of their taking the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance, submission also to the Orders and discipline of the Church.

Church of *England* : And three yeeres after, *viz.* one thousand six hundred thirty seven, a proclamation issued from the King to the same purpose, and in the same words.

Others instead of affections and hearts, sling darts after them, and say, *they are gone out from us indeed, but they were not of us*, 1 Joh. 2. 19. neither liking our doctrine nor government. Yet surely they differ not at all from us in Religion, witnesse our owne confession and their profession ; and for the first, our learned men have continually acknowledged the Puritans to consent with them in Doctrinalls, Archbishop *Sands* (b) in b Serm. p. 81, 82, &c. his Sermon before Queene *Elizabeth* more than once asserteth this, We have here saith he, to praise our God, that in publique doctrine touching the substance of religion wee all agree in one truth, the greater pittie it is we should so much dissent in matters of small importance, in rites and circumstances ; the Puritanicall errors did not at all oppose any part of our Religion, but it continued most sound even to the dying day of that most renowned Princess, saith he that (c) analysed our c Rogers pref. p. 19. thirty nine Articles, and so printed them by authority, and King *James* (d) averreth the like of his Scottish d Pref. Basil. Dor. Puritans, We all God be thanked agree in the grounds, and after his reception of this Crowne, hee calls (e) the e Parlia. spec. Anno. 1603. English Puritan a Sect rather than a Religion ; and in his Declaration against *Vorstius* (f), hee joyneth his f His workes. p. 358. Churches of great Britaine with those of *France* and *Germany*, opposing them all against *Vorstius*, *Bertius*, and the *Arminians*; Notwithstanding the *Disciplinarian* quarrell saith (g) Bishop *Andrewes*, we have the same faith, the Cardinall is deceived, or deceiveth, in g Ref. ad Apol. p. 28. using the word Puritans, as if they had another Religi-

on differing from that publicly professed, and this hath been the unanimous asseveration of English Bishops, and other learned Divines, as were easie abundantly to declare. But themselves have spared us that labour, by their constant acknowledgement thereof; *la Rogers passim.* Mr. Rogers (*b*) in his forecited Analysis, produceth their owne writings to this purpose, and what one of them can be named that refused subscription to those 39 Articles in reference to matters of Doctrine; Mr. Browne tis thought, went as farre astray as any here, yet I have seen his owne (*c*) hand declaring at that time his allowance of all those Synodicall Articles; and lest any should imagine the Novangles differing from us in dogmaticall truths, besides many, very many printed bookes testifying their concurrence with us herein, beside divers private Letters, that subscribed by the Governour and principall assistants sufficiently manifests their judgement and affection, wherein they desire to be accounted our brethren, and implore our prayers; adding, howsoever our charity may have met with some discouragements through the misreport of our intentions, or through disaffection, or indiscretion of some among us, for wee dreame not of perfection in this world, yet would you be pleased to take notice of the principall and body of this Company, as those that are not ashamed to call the Church of *England* our deare Mother, and cannot part from her without teares in our eyes, but shall ever acknowledge that such part and hope as we have obtained in the common salvation, we received it in her bosome, and sucked it from her breasts, &c.

From South-Hampton.

John Wintthrop, Governour.

Rich: Saltonstall.

Tho: Dudley, &c.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

THere is another injaculation that hath gone current among many, that the Puritane of old and New-England is Antimonarchicall, the former is sufficiently cleared by that Bishop, who hath left this testimony, (a) *Presbyterio lis est cum Episcopis, cum Regē nulla est*, or if that be not enough, King James (b) in this is an irrefragable Assessor, The Puritans do not decline the oath of Supremacy, but daily take it, never refused it; and the same supremacy is defended by (c) Calvin himsele. And in New-England Mr. Williams (d) seemed in other things to be extravagant, yet thus he writes to this point: For the Government of the Common-wealth from the King, as supreme, to the inferiour and subordinate Magistrates, my heart is on them, as once *Deborah* spake: and as the Governours and assistants doe themselves take the oath of Allegiance, so they have power by their Charter to give the same to all that shall at any time passe to them, or inhabit with them; But, *Tempora mutantur*, and it may be tis with them, as with us, & *nos mutamur in illis*. And tis further said, that their Ecclesiastique government, is not onely opposite to the ancient Episcopacy of the land, but to the discipline of the other Reformed Churches, even that which the Covenant calleth for: it may be worth our consideration, that as there was a time when forraigners reformed were not so opposite to our Bishops, but those Divines (e) thought well of them, willingly gave to them Titles of Reverend Fathers,

a Resp. ad Ap.

p. 29.

b King James

workes, p. 34.

c Institut. l.

c. 20.

d Letter 20. c

the 10 moneth

1635.

e Calvin. Bep.

Gualt. alii.

Charter;

Epil. Cent. 16.
185. 285. &
cil. Dordrac.

Andr. Posthu.
176.

Ep. p. 749.

thers, and Illustrious Lords ; and in their publique convenings, (f) spake of that Government with good respect, and the valedictory Epistle of Mr. *Cotton*, to the then Bishop of *Lincoln*, full of respective expressions, is yet to be seen, So the Bishops then were not such Anripresbyterians, *Cacus sit*, saith (g) Bishop *Andrewes* to *P. Moulin* a Presbyter, *qui non videat stantes sine ea Ecclesias, ferreus sit, qui salutem eis neget, nos non sumus illi ferrei*, Let him be blind that seeth not Churches consistent without such an Hierarchy, let him be accounted iron-hearted that shall deny them to be in a way of salvation, we are not such iron-hearted men, yea and severall reformed Congregations of severall Nations have not onely been tollerated, but much refreshed under the Bishops of *London*, *Norwich*, *Winchester*, &c. These times have widened all differences every where, even among such as are or should be one in covenant ; how are disaffections increased, divisions heightened, which have not only woefully abated christian love, but miserably augmented iniquities of all sorts? many being scrupulously curious about mint and annis, having little respect in the meane time to faith, righteousness, and the more weighty things of the law ; and here may be taken up the lamentation of *Erasmus* (h), bemoaning himselfe exceedingly, that he had in bookes cryed up, *libertatem spiritus*, liberty of the spirit, which I thinke this age would call liberty of conscience, I wished thus saith hee, a diminution of humane ceremonies, to that end, that divine truths and godlinesse might be enlarged, *Nunc sic excutimur illa, ut pro libertate spiritus succedat effraxis carnis licentia*, and he doth justly call it carnall licentiousnesse, for the Spirit of our God, *Gal. 5. 20.* names contentions, seditions, he-

heresies, &c. workes of the flesh, which being but lately sowne, have strangely growne up and multiplyed, so that a forraigne penne hath to *Englands* shame printed it thus to the world, (i) *Anglia his quatuor annis facta est colluvies, & lerna omnium errorum, ac sectarum, nulla à condito orbe provinciata parvo spatio tot monstrasas hereses protulit atque hac, Episcoporum tempora intra sexaginta annos non nisi quatuor sectas protulerunt, & eas plerumque in obscuro latentes, &c.* For I had rather bewaile than reveale the nakednesse of the Nation, I had rather stirre up my owne soule and others to piety, and peace, oh, when will men lay aside all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evill speaking, with all malice; and instead thereof be kinde one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, as God for Christs sake forgave you, Ephes. 4. 32. I wish there were a law to forbid all needlesse disputes, I wish that it and those other severall lawes were put in execution impartially, so that all men by all meanes were provoked to godlinesse, that would preserve from every error, for God is faithfull that hath promised, *If any man will doe the Fathers will, he shall know the doctrine whether it be of God,* Joh. 7. 17. Hearty endeavours for holinesse in our owne persons, and those related to us, would take away the occasions of many unkind controversies, for the *Kingdome of God is not meate or drinke,* this or that government, or any such externalls, no further then they serve to promote righteousness and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost, Rom. 14. 17. and this is the best way to shew our obedience unto Christ, for hee that in these things serveth Christ is acceptable to God, and approved of men. ver. 18. When our Countrey men planted themselves first in America, the name of Independency was not knowne; hee

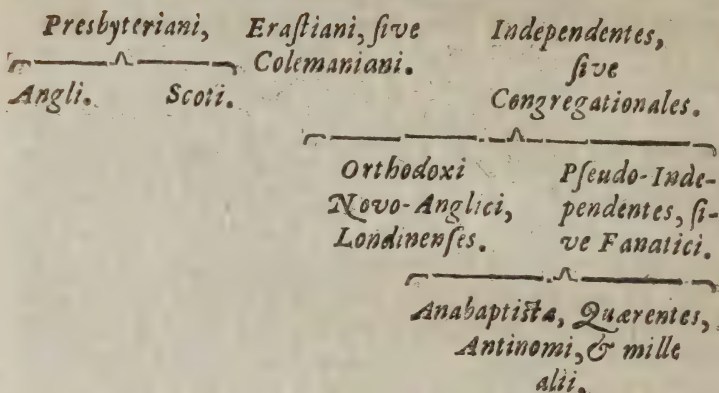
i Honor. Reg
Commentar.
Dantisci. 16

idem *ibid.*

indeed that lately hath wrote (*k*) of the state of the Churches in *England*, drawes so the scheme that our Novangles are thus become Independents, but with the epithete of orthodox.

Schema sectarum recentium,

Puritani



con. Tit.

imp. C. p. 42

And for our Novangles it cannot be denyed, but many of them well approve the Ecclesiastique government of the Reformed Churches, as of old, *communi Presbyterorum consilio Ecclesia regebantur*, they desire it were so now; and some of them in New England are amazed at the manner of our gathering of Churches here: thus one writeth (*l*) that had bin a long time a Pastor among them; What more ungodly sacrilege, or man-stealing can there be than to purloine from godly Ministers the first borne of their fervent prayers, and faith-
full

full preachings, the leven of their flocks, the encouragement of their soules, the crowne of their labours, their Epistle to heaven? If men will needs gather Churches out of the world as they say, let them first plough the world, and sow it, and reape it with their owne hands, & the Lord give them a liberall harvest. He is a very hard man that will *reape where he hath not sowed, and gather where he hath not strowed*, Mat. 24. 25. and if I mistake not, such kind of unkind and hard dealing was practised here in *England* even in popish times, what meanes else that Canon among the Saxon Councells (*m*), *Vt sacerdotes aliorum parochianos ad se non alliciant*, how like this lookes to that I leave to the judgement of others, but these be the words of that rule, Let no Presbyter perswade the faithfull of the Parish of another Presbyter to come to his Church, leaving his owne, and take to himselfe those tithes; but let every one bee content with his owne Church and people, and by no meanes doe that to another, which he would not should be done to himselfe, according to that Evangelicall saying, Whatsoever yee would that men should doe unto you, doe yee the same to them; but whosoever shall walke contrary to this rule, let him know hee shall either lose his degree, or for a long time be detained in prison. I shall by and by speake more to this on their behalfe, now adde onely, that as many in New England approve of the discipline of the other Churches Reformed, and some of them sufficiently dislike the way and manner of our Church-gathering here, so all of them have now seen by experience the necessity of Synods: For in their great storm of late that was so like to wracke all, the meanes to settle it was as strange as the disease, so he writes that was an eye, and care witnes,

m Sir H. S. 1
Panang. p. 192

discourse of
New England
not printed.

relat. of proce-
gainst S. 1.
fort. p. 99.

They that heretofore slighted Synods, and accounted of them as humane inventions, and the blemish of those Reformed Churches that made use of them, are now for the preservation of themselves enforced to make use of that meanes which in time of peace they did slight and contemne; the Synod, saith he, being assembled, much time was spent in ventilating and emptying of private passions, but afterwards it went on and determined with such good successe, that in token thereof, hee saith, wee keepe a solemn day of thanksgiving, as there was cause, and the two men most different in opinion, were selected for the publike exercise, wherein they behaved themselves to admiration, the Acts and conclusions of the Synod, &c. I would further aske, if the Independent government, so farre as it is congregationall, be not as rigidly Presbyterian as any; sure I am, unkinde they are not to the other Presbyterians, Mr *Winslow* is an irrefragable *testis* herein, who mentions some there that are in that way, and knowne to be so, yet never had the least molestation or disturbance, but have and finde as good respect from Magistrates, and people, as other Elders in the congregationall way; yea divers Gentlemen of *Scotland*, that groaned under the late pressures of that Nation, wrote into New England to know whether they might freely be suffered to exercise their Presbyterian government, and it was answered affirmatively they might; and yet further none of them here or there, that continue true to their first principles, differ at all in fundamentalls and doctrine from the other Presbyterians, and tis not unlike, but when God shall enlarge their borders, they will finde it needfull to approach yet neerer to the way of other Reformed Churches in their discipline: And there is
of

of themselves, that upon observation of their former very great danger, have left their judgement, with which I will conclude this Chapter : An excellent way they have, meaning their Ecclesiastique government, if Pastors and people would ever be of one opinion, but when they shall come to be divided into as many opinions, as they are bodies, what will the sequell be ? and I see little probability of subsistence, where Independency yeelds matter of divisions, but no meanes to compound them.

Discourse before mentioned.

CHAP. VII.

To our selves, in behalfe of the Natives towards their conversion.

IT is the unfeigned desire of every pious soule, that God would please to guide and blesse some holy and happy hand, in taking up the differences that are growne up among those that are named by the sweet name of Christ, that all who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, would also sincerely love one another ; that mutuall forces were conjoynd to promote the glory of our common Master, not onely every man in his owne person, family, place, and Countrey, but by apprehending all opportunities to publish the eternall Gospell of our Lord even to those other ends of the earth. Gregory the gteat (a) did willingly encourage himselfe in his desire to Christianize our Ancestors the Saxons from hints of his owne observation, for seeing

^aIn Bed. Ecclesiast. Hist. l. 2. c. 1.

ing children of beautifull feature offered to sale in the market at *Rome*, as then the manner was, hee sighed within himselfe, and said, when he understood they were not Christians, Alas that the Prince of darkenesse should possesse such faire and lightsome countenances; enquiring further after their names, *Angles*, they have Angels faces indeed said hee, and tis meet all diligence be used that they be as the Angels of God in Heaven; when hee asked of what Province they were, it was answered *Deiri*, or *Deira*, for so was then that (b) seventh Kingdome called, *Northumberland*, in the time of the Saxons, *Dei ira eruti* saith hee, being made Christians they shall be delivered from the wrath of God; and upon demand, hearing that their Kings name was *Aelle*, he said Allelu jah, and praises to God must be sung there : In this worke if that may be any invitation, we have the like allusions, the whole Countrey is called the New world in the generall, and particularly there is *New Spaine*, *New France*, *New Netherland*, *New Scotland*, *New England*, why should not there be solicitous endeavours that all the Natives of that New World, should be made a world of New creatures; and if upon occasion and enquiry the Inhabitants be called Barbarians, such were we our selves in the common acceptation of the word, being neither Jewes nor Greekes; if Salvages, tis a name of hope that they are a salvable generation, and shall in due time be partakers of the common salvation; their complexion indeed is darke and dusky, as tis made after birth, but their soules are the more to be pittied, that yet bee in a farre more unlovely hue, even in the suburbs of that darkenesse, that blacknesse of darknesse, which is so terrible to thinke of : It was *Gregories* desire that Hallelu-jahs should bee sung

b Lambard Peramb. of Kent.
p 5.

fung to and for the English, then heathen, the Christian English may observe and wonder at that very word of frequent use among the Indians, as hath already been mentioned; finally there is a constellation or starre, called the crosse, peculiar to that Countrey, saith *Acosta* (c), and it is so named because foure notable starres ^{c Hist. l. 1. c. 5} make the forme of a crosse, set equally, and with good proportion, a good omen I wish it may be, and that a starre may leade them also to their Saviour, that Christ may be made knowne to them, and his peace through the bloud of his Crosse, Col. 1. 20. To which employment wee have likewise other perswasions, besides what hath been formerly sprinkled here and there. 1. The necessity of the poore Natives require this care, who stand so much in need of spirituall bread, and so few prepare to breake it to them, they yet *walk in the vanity of their minde, having their understanding darkned, being alienated from the life of God through the ignorance that is in them,* &c. Eph. 4. 17. &c. and the lesse sensible they be of their owne forlorne condition, the more sollicitous should others be to acquaint them therewith, together with the way of their deliverance. When (d) *Austin* ^{d Malmbf. p. 4. and Beda. l. 1. c. 25.} the Monke came hither among the Saxons to preach the Gospell, King *Ethelbert* opposed him not, but said I cannot so easily forsake my owne Religion, and embrace theirs that is new; yet seeing these strangers are come so farre and bring that to us which they esteem most excellent, wee will use them kindly, they shall want nothing for their work: And surely were the Americans but a little civiliz'd, they would by degrees understand their owne miserable estate, and themselves would then bespeake further enlightning; yea this is already in some of their fervent desires, (e) as hath been intimated ^{e Daybreak. &c.} also formerly.

Greg. M.

2. Christians have a care of this for Christ their Masters sake, good subjects wish the ampliation of their Soveraignes honour, and how glad should wee bee when the kingdome of darknesse is empaired, and there be continuall accresses to the *Kingdome of Gods deare Sonne*, Col. 1. 14. Tis our daily prayer, *Hallowed be thy name*, divulged, and made glorious all the world over, wee cannot better improve our interest and power, then by being active & industrious instruments thereof; wee endeavouring as much as wee may *that the Kingdoms of this world may become the Kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ*, Revel. 11. 15. *Nō est zelus sicut Zelus animarum* (f), this zeale for soules carries in the wombe thereof glory to God, and honour to the zealots themselves, Dan. 12. 3. and unutterable comfort and benefit to them that are warmed thereby, 1am. 5. 20. and their debtors in this verily we are, if the words of another Apostle be with a little mutation applyed hither, for if wee be made partakers of their carnall things, our duty it is also to minister unto them in spirituell things, Rom. 15. 17.

3. The severall Patents to severall Planters call for this endeavour, such was that first granted to the Virginians by King *James*, it intended principally the propagation of the Christian faith; the like is to be read in the Patents and confirmations made by him and King *Charles* to others. And in the beginning of this Parliament, that Honourable Committee of Lords and Commons were appointed chiefly for the advancement of the true Protestant Religion, and further spreading of the Gospell of Christ among the Natives in America. Yea and in the Charter to Mary-land, the pious zeale for the spreading of the Gospel is first mentioned,

oned, and what ever suggestions be made, or aimes otherwise, there is a speciall proviso against the prejudice, or diminution of Gods holy and truly Christian Religion, and the allegiance due to the Kings Majesty, his heires, and successors; it is not well then if Romish designs have been mannaged there, injurious to Religion, and offensive to our other Plantations, but herein stands the force of this Motive, the mutuall and interchangeable Pact and Covenant of Donor and Receiver is in all those Charters and Patents the conversion of the Natives.

4. I finde another encouragement from a Doctor lately lapsed into popery (g), yet professing his willingness to returne upon Protestants successes this way; for he deemes it improbable, that ever they should convert any Nation, or so much as any one single person, except some poore wretch or other, whom feare or gainewill drive, or draw to any thing; but if ever the historicall relation of Gods wonderfull workings upon sundry of the Indians, both Governours and common people, in bringing them to a willing and desired submission to the Ordinances of the Gospell, and framing their hearts to an earnest enquiry after the knowledge of God the Father, and Jesus Christ the Saviour of the World; I say if ever those discourses come to the Doctors view, hee may once againe change his minde, how ever the happy progreses of our Countrey men in that worke, if they be knowne and well considered of by the Papists themselves, they may be carried to admiration, expectation, and it may be further.

5. The honour of our Nation may be another argument to this undertaking, that as to *Charlemaine* of old (b) the Saxons owe their Christianity, and those of

g Dr. Vane lo
shee p. p. 186

h Crantz, Met.
p. 405. 8. 12.

Phrysa, *Dithmarse* and *Holsatia*, the Vandalls also and Hungarians : It will be glorious for the Chronicles and Annalls of *England*, that by the meanes of this Nation the Nansamonds were brought to the true and saving knowledge of Jesus Christ, and so were the Sasquehannockes, Wicomeffes, Conecktacoacks, Massachuscuks, Mouhacks, Aberginians and others ; Thus will the renowne of the English name and Nation, ring
b.5.Ep.58.59 over all the Westerne World. *Gregory* complains more then once, that those Angles our Ancestors were willing to become Christians, but the Priests of *France* refused to give help and instruction. The Britons also refused to joyne with *Austin* here in his preaching to
Hist.l.2.c.7. the Saxons, not out of pride and contempt as *Beda* (*i*) reporteth, but for that those people, invited hither as friends, became their onely enemies, driving them from their possessions, which themselves invaded as their owne, but these Indians give harbour to our Nation, whose faire and free accomodating of our Countrey men hath fully purchased to themselves all the spirituall favour wee and they are able to afford them, of which, when they also become sensible, honour will redound to this *England*, not onely from ours there, who professe truly, if they prosper, we shall be the more glorious, but the Natives enlightned by us will returne hither the tribute of their abundant thankfulnesse. And that every one of us may be cordiall coadjutors of our Countrey men in this most glorious undertaking, let me endeavour to warme the affections of the English there, and at home, by proposing a trafficke in a threefold stock for the promotion of this designe.

CHAP. VIII.

Further helpe to this worke.

THe first of these is already going, the stocke of prayers, both hence and thence on that behalfe to heaven, and not now in a vision, as to St. Paul once, there stood a man and prayed him, saying, *Come over into Macedonia and helpe us*, A^ct. 16. 9. but the Natives begin to be really sensible of their spirituall necessities, and call earnestly for that bread, and our countrey men desire the assistance of their brethren here in many respects, all their Letters earnestly bespeak us in this, and O that we did heartily answer them in our constant and fervent prayers, in reference to this worke. There was indeed of late a generation of men, though extreme lovers of that Lethargy, yet forgate to be in charity with all men, they were content in their Letany to pray it would please God to have mercy upon all men, yet deemed it piacular to pray for the Novangles; The Directory guides otherwise, even by name advising to prayers for those Plantations in the remote parts of the World.

2. This worke would be much prospered by a stocke of wise and constant correspondence mutually betwixt Old and New England in regard of this businesse, what progresse is made in the worke, what meet to be done for its furtherance, &c. Such communication of counsells would marvelously encourage and quicken

Leins, Hist.
æf.

the Americans conversion. The French were spoiled of this help and intercourse from *Brasil*, by the Governour (a) *Villagagnos* Apostacy to Popery, and tis not credible, but if the poore Indians were made to understand that all the Nation of *England* were thus solicitous with God, and among themselves, in all industrious endeavours to recover them from their sinfull and lost condition by nature, but they would looke up also, and in earnest cooperate with them, and say also it may be, as was in the precedent Chapter mentioned of our Saxon King, who said, those Preachers should be kindly dealt with, and want nothing for their worke; yea somewhat like to this was long since spoken of by (b) *Colonchi* one of the Princes of *Peru*, when he was invited to be a Christian, his answer was, Sir I am old and unfit to forsake the rites and lawes of my Ancestors, but take my children as you will, and teach them what you please, they are young, and can more easily apply themselves to your customes, and instructions.

benzo. p. 390

Isiod. Op. 6
l. 2.

3. And a stock of money must be remembred, which in some sense, is as it were the soule of this worke; the Poet said truly *ἡ μὲν γὰρ πάλαι δεδωκεν βροτοῖσι*. If wee meane the Indians shall be Gospellized, they must first be civilized, who are yet a very wild Olive, both by nature and life, they must bee weaned from idlenesse, and hunting, and nakednesse, they must be perswaded to labour, planting, learning, arts, and manufacture, that they may get cloathing, they must be taught to build for their owne habitations, for meeting houses or Churches on the Lords dayes, Schooles must be erected for instruction of their youth at other times, books of all kinds, tooles and instruments of all sorts must be pro-

provided, many and necessary materialls towards this structure may be easily mentioned, but are not so easily purchased : If our Countrey men there have for their owne comfort and subsistence, tis little lesse then a miracle, all things considered, and a wonderfull mercy, it cannot be expected, that they should be able to adde considerable supplie towards all the forenamed particulars, and other emergent needfull occasions, though there be that can beare *them record, that to their power, yea and beyond their power, they are willing of themselves as the Apostle said of his Macedonians, 2 Cor. 8. 3.* I crave leave therefore to pray every Christian reader with much entreaty to take upon him the fellowship of ministering to this worke, *that you may abound in this grace also,* that I may use to you the same holy Apostles words ; *Chrysostome* (d) desirous to plant the Gospel in *Phanicia*, stirred up many godly men, and devout women, by their liberality to contribute towards those endeavours. Yea and here let it be remembred, that as *Gregory* commends *Queen Brunecchild of France*, and *Queen Adilberga of Kent*, for their charitable furtherance of this worke, the gaining of soules, the first Gospellizing of our Saxon Ancestors ; So some pious Christians among us of both sexes, have shewed much bounty this way, encouraging and exampling others : The Spanish bookes relate strange things of their zeale in this kinde, and one (e) whom wee may credit tells us, that *America* hath foure Arch-Bishops, thirty Bishops, and many other houses as they call them of Religion, and if it be said their lot fell into the golden part of that world, and out of their superfluties they might well spare very much, tis very much indeed, and yet tis (f) somewhat more that the same writer observeth how the King

d Theodor. hist. l. 5. c. 29.

Lib. 9. Ep. 56. 57.

e Gage survey of America. p. 81.

f Id. p. 3.

of

of *Spaine* maintaines the lifts and bonds of Missionaries, Priests, Fryers and Jesuits, that are continually transported into America, hee provides for every of them ten yeeres, and that to this day, and *shall the children of this world in this also be wiser then the children of light*, Luk. 16. 8. shall they be enlarged for the promoting of themselves, and their abominable superstitions, and shall not wee be as forward in that which directly aimes at the glory of Christ and the good of souls, as St. Paul saith of his Thessalonians, *that they were examples to all that believed in Macedonia and Achaia*, 1 Thes. 1. 7. I trust the liberality of some will invite and open the hands of many to be very forward in this worke, *for the administration of this service, will not onely supply their wants, but will be abundant also by many thanksgivings unto God*, 2 Cor. 9. 12. And I hope to heare once of a liberall collection and benevolence to be advanced in every Parish and Congregation of the land, to be put into safe hands, and such profitable employment, as may indeed further the reering up of a Christian Tabernacle in America. And while these papers were thus in their framing, an *Act, before mentioned, for propagating the Gospell of Iesus Christ in New England*, declareth much forwardnesse towards a nationall contribution in reference to this worke, and the disposal thereof to be according to the desires of those that have bin most industrious that way, and good care, I trust will be taken that the monies run into the right channels; and for the better gale and conduct, the two Universities *Cambridge & Oxford*, have affectionately expressed their Christian longings that this soule-businesse may obtain all possible furtherance, in their Letters to their Reverend and deare Brethren the Ministers of the Gospell
in

in *England* and *Wales*, the *Divines of London* are desired also in their sphere cordially to act in this common cause of the Gospel, that no obstruction be left in the way of this most glorious endeavour, why should any then bee straightned in their owne bowells, why should not all learne willingnesse to this worke, by reading, considering, and practising what we find the old *Jewes* did in a like case, *Exod.* 35.

CHAP. IX.

*The Novangles religious care to advance
Piety and Learning.*

IT hath been laid and left at the doores of those whom some call Independents here in this *England*, that they have shewed little love to others going astray, and that their zeale hath been wanting against those blasphemies and heresies that have manifestly dishonoured the most sweet and holy name of God, Father, Son, and Spirit. Our booke tells us of (a) a good man in former times when hee was accused of lust, pride, &c. He said, I confesse I am a sinner, and I beseech you pray for me, but when they laid heresie to his charge, his heart was hot within him, his zeale was inflamed, and hee said, *Hæreticus non sum, & hoc vitium nullapatientia possum aut volo dissimulare, hæresis enim separat hominem a Deo, & adsociat Diabolo: alienatus a Christo non habet Deum, quem oret pro peccatis suis.* Tis not for me to judge any, every one shall stand or fall to his owne Master, *Rom.* 14. 4. but I would remember my selfe and
O others

a *Agathon* in
Dorothe. Doctr.
& *vita patrum.*

Erasm, Ep. 6.

others of his zeale, who said (b) *fateor in causa fidei etiam vitam negligendam*; I finde this grace very warme and working in our Novangles, for whom I have some few words more to mention in this particular, that my readers may be invited to thinke well of them, to doe well to them, and for them, or for the poore Indians rather, or rather for Christ himselfe, who shall have honour from us all, if wee all by communication of counsells, prayers, purfes, and every othet way endeavour the furtherance of their conversion to our Lord Jesus; and to procure our cordiall conjunction with our brethren there in this, I shall transcribe some things out of their owne late printed booke of the lawes and liberties concerning the inhabitants of Massachusetts, by which their love to truth, godlinesse, peace, and learning will be evident, together with their liberall and enlarged care to propagate the eternall Gospell of our Lord among the Natives.

p. 24.

At the title of hæresie, (c) this is the preface. Although no humane power be Lord over the faith and consciences of men, and therefore may not constrain them to believe or professe against their consciences, yet because such as bring in damnable heresies, tending to the subversion of the Christian Faith, and the destruction of the soules of men, ought duly to be restrained from such notorious impiety, it is therefore ordered and decreed by this Court:

That if any Christian within this jurisdiction shall goe about to subvert and destroy the Christian Faith and Religion, by broaching or maintaining any damnable heresie, as denying the immortality of the soule, or the resurrection of the body, or any sinne to be repented of in the regenerate, or any evill done by the outward

outward man to be accounted sinne, or denying that Christ gave himsele a ranome for our sinnes, or shall affirme that wee are not justified by his death and righteousness, but by the perfection of their owne workes, or shall deny the morality of the fourth Commandement, or shall endeavour to seduce others to any the heresies aforementioned, every such person continuing obstinate therein after due meanes of conviction shall be sentenced to banishment. 1646. And before (d) having said, that the open contempt of Gods word, and the messengers thereof is the desolating sinne of civill States, &c. It is therefore ordered, and decreed, That if any christian, so called, within this jurisdiction, shall contemptuously behave himself towards the word preached, or the messengers thereof—either by interrupting him in his preaching, or by charging him falsely with any error, which he hath not taught, or like a son of *Korah* cast upon his true doctrine, or himsele, any reproach—every such person or persons (whatsoever censure the Church may passe) shall for the first scandall be convented and reprov'd openly by the Magistrate at some Lecture, and bound to their good behaviour, and if a second time they breake forth into the like contemptuous carriages, they shall either pay five pounds to the publique treasury, or stand two houres openly upon a blocke or stoole foure foot high on a Lecture day with a paper fixed on his breast, written in capitall letters, **AN OPEN AND OBSTINATE CONTEMNER OF GODS HOLY ORDINANCES**, that others may feare and be ashamed of breaking out into the like wickednesse. 1646.

d Tit. Ecclesi-
astical, p. 19. 2.

There be some in this *England* that account it piety and Religion to speake evill of Christs Ministers, and

cast off his Ordinances; now blessed of God from heaven and earth be our Novangles, Magistrates, Ministers, and people that have so seasonably witnessed against these abominations.

*Tit. Anabap-
tists, p. 1.*

They are great lovers of peace and government, these therefore be their words in another place; (c) For as much as experience hath plentifully & often proved that since the first rising of the Anabaptists about an hundred yeeres past they have bin the Incendiaries of Common-wealths, and the infectors of persons in maine matters of Religion, and the troublers of Churches in most places where they have been, and that they who have held the baptizing of infants unlawfull, have usually held other errors or heresies together therewith (though as heretiques use to doe they have concealed the same untill they espied a fit advantage and opportunity to vent them by way of question or scruple) and whereas divers of this kinde have since our comming into New-England appeared amongst our selves, some whereof, as others before them, have denyed the Ordinance of Magistracy, and the lawfulnessse of making warre, others the lawfulnessse of Magistrates and their inspection into any breach of the first Table, which opinions, if connived at by us, are like to be increased among us, and so necessarily bring guilt upon us, infection and trouble to the Churches, and hazard to the whole Common-wealth: It is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof, that if any person or persons shall either openly condemne or oppose the baptizing of infants, or goe about secretly to seduce others from the approbation, or use thereof, or shall purposely depart the Congregation at the administration of that Ordinance, or shall deny the Ordinance of Ma-

Magistracy, or their lawfull right, or authority to make warre, or to punish the outward breaches of the first Table, and shall appeare to the Court willfully and obstinately to continue therein, after due meanes of conviction, every such person or persons shall be sentenced to banishment. 1644.

And that wee may discern how worthy they are that wee should doe all the good wee can for them, for they love the nation where they inhabite, and are very ferious in *preparing them for one husband, to present them a pure virgin unto Christ*, 2 Cor. 11. 2. Severall therefore are their decrees in order to their conversion.

(f) 1. Every Towne shall have power to restraine all Indians from prophaning the Lords day. 1633. 1639. f Tit. Indian
p. 28, 29.

1641.
2. The English shall not destroy the Indians corne, but shall help them to fence in their grounds.

3. Considering one end in planting these parts was to propagate the true Religion unto the Indians, and that divers of them are become subjects to the English, and have engaged themselves to be willing and ready to understand the Law of God; It is therefore ordered and decreed, that such necessary and wholesome Lawes which are in force, and may be made from time to time, to reduce them to civility of life, shall be once in the yeer (if the times be safe) made knowne to them, by such fit persons as the generall Court shall nominate, having the helpe of some able Interpreter.

4. Considering also that interpretation of tongues is appointed of God for propagating the truth; It is therefore decreed that two Ministers shall be chosen every yeer, and sent with the consent of their Churches (with whomsoever will freely offer themselves to a company

company them in that service) to make knowne the heavenly counsell of God among the Indians, and that something be allowd them by the Generall Court to give away freely to those Indians whom they shall perceive most willing and ready to be instructed by them.

5. They decree further that no Indian shall at any time Powaw, or performe outward worship to their false gods, or to the devill, and if any shall transgresse this law, the Powawer shall pay 5 l. the procurer 5 l. &c. 1646.

ix. Schels.
47.

Their love to learning also is meet to be remembred, and encouraged, wherein they have (*g*) observed a chief project of that old deluder Satan to keepe men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times keeping them in an unknowne tongue, so in these latter times by perswading from the use of tongues, that so at least the true sense and meaning of the originall might be clouded with false glosses of saint-seeming deceivers, and that learning may not be buried in the graves of our forefathers in Church and Common-wealth, the Lord assisting our endeavours, It is therefore ordered by this Court and authority thereof, That every Township encreasing to the number of fifty households, shall appoint one within their Towne to teach all such children as shall resort to him, to write and read, whose wages shall be paid either by the Parents or Masters of such children, or by the Inhabitants in generall by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the Prudentials of the Towne shall appoint, and where any town shall encrease to an hundred families or householders, they shall set up a Grammer school, the Masters thereof being able to instruct youth so far, as they may
be

be fitted for the University, and if any town neglect this above a yeere, every such Towne shall pay five pound *per ann.* to the next such Schoole, till they shall performe this order. 1647.

And an Academy or University is not onely in their aime, but a good while since they had more than begun well, and therefore wee read these words in another (h) ^{h Tit. College. p. 12.} part of their lawes, Whereas through the good hand of God upon us there is a College founded in Cambridge in the County of *Middlesex*, called *Harvard College*, for incouragement whereof this Court hath given the sum of four hundred pounds, and also the revenue of the Ferry betwixt *Charles Towne* and *Boston*, and that the well ordering and manning of the said College is of great concernment; It is therefore ordered by this Court, &c. Then follow directions for the President and Commissioners to establish orders and dispose gifts, &c. 1636. 1640. 1642.

Mr. Coleman that was Erastianly principled, preached publikely that except some other way be found to keepe up learning, our Universities will be but uselesse places, and learning it selfe an unnecessary thing; for under this notion of Independency, Weavers and Tailors may become Pastors, so that if some stop be not, the issue may be, that one may binde his sonne Apprentice to a Cobler, and at seven yeeres end he may go out a free Minister, &c.

Sermon at
westm. in Anni
1646. Iuly, 30.
è Iob. 11. 22.

But our Brethren of New England wee see have other principles and practises, and notwithstanding that they went out as exiles hence, (m) *extra anni solisque viam* — yea as *Iacob* of old with his staffe onely passed over *Jordan*, and suddenly became two bands, Gen. 32. 10.

m Stat. Eccles.
Brit. præfacc.

These ventured upon the wide and wild Ocean with
poore

poore and small provision, and how great how many are the mercies that our God hath shewed unto his servants there, that they are not onely furnished themselves with necessaries of all sorts, and have made large steps in an Academicall way, having A&ts, Degrees, and Commencements according to the commendable fashion of *England*, as their own words are; The *theses* at their Commencements disputed upon have been printed severall yeeres at *Cambridge* in New England, and thence dispersed here; but they have also industriously furthered by their godlinesse, gentlenesse, and good orders, the conversion of a miserable people that have lien so long in darkenesse. To warme the affections of the English here, to raise all our hearts and endeavours to joyne all possible forces here and there in this soule-worke, the next chapter is added.

CHAP. X.

The successe of the Novangles in Gospellizing the Indians.

Day breaking
if not the Sun-
rising of the
Gospel with
the Indians in
New-England.
Printed for
Fulk Clifton, on
New Fish-
street hill.
647.

THE Reader here shall have a Breviate inviting him to peruse those larger discourses, printed on purpose to raise our hearts in lifting up the high praises of God, that hath given this grace unto men.

First Treatise.

FOure of the English, having sought God, went among the Indians, *Octo. 28. 1646.* to make knowne the

the things of their peace, they were conducted into the principall Wigwam of *Waaubon*, their chiefe minister of justice, who like another *Cornelius*, Act. 10. 24. had called together many men, women, and children to hear and learne, they began with prayer in English, not for want of language, but to shew them the duty was sacred, and that wee might agree together in the same heart-sorrowes for them, even in that place where God was never wont to be called upon : It was an affecting spectacle, after prayer, to see a company of-forlorne outcasts diligently attending upon the word of salvation, which in the space of an houre and a quarter discovered to them the grounds of Religion, repeating, expounding, and applying the ten Commandements, then preaching Jesus Christ the onely meanes of recovery from sinne and wrath, perswading them to repentance for severall sinnes which they live in. Wee next asked them if they understood what was spoken, which they affirmed with many voices, and then wee desired to know if they would propound any questions to us, for their further satisfaction, and this they did, but not such curiosities as some others of them had done before, as, *what was the cause of thunder, of the ebbing and flowing of the sea, of the wind* : no, the wisdom of God directed them to aske, *How wee may come to know Iesus Christ?* one of them after wee had answered, said, hee was praying in his Wigwam to Christ that hee would give him a new heart, but another Indian interrupted him, saying, hee prayed in vaine, because Christ understood not what Indians speake in prayer, as not being acquainted with their language, his question therefore was, *Whether Iesus Christ did understand the prayers of Indians?* another demanded, if *English men were once so ignorant of*

Page. 1. & 2.

Questions of the Indians.

P. 4.

P. 5.

Christ as themselves? and how can there be an image of God, seeing it is forbidden in the second Commandment? If the father be bad, and the child good, will God be offended with that child? for tis said in the second commandment, hee will visit the sinnes of the fathers upon the children? How is all the world become so full of people, being all were once drowned in the flood?

6.

questions to
em.

Wee then asked them three questions. 1. If they did not desire to see God, and if they were not tempted to thinke there was no God, because they could not see him? some of them replied they did indeed desire to see him, but we had taught them that could not be, yet they believed, though their eyes could not see him, hee was to be seen with their soules within. 2. Wee asked if it were not strange to them there should be but one God, yet this God should be in *Massachusetts, Connecticut, Quimipenik*, in old England, in this *Wigwam*, in the next, every where? It is strange one of them said, as all else is we hear preached; yet they thought it might be true that God was so big every where. 3. Whether they did not finde something troubling them within after the commission of sinne, as murder, adultery, theft, lying, &c. they confest the trouble, but could not tell what to say to it, he therefore that first spake to them concluded with a dolefull description (as far as his language permitted) of the trembling condition of every soule that dies in sinne, and shall be cast out of favour from God. Having thus spent three houres, wee asked them if they were not weary, they said no, wee resolved to leave them with an appetites the chiefe of them seeing us conclude with prayer, desired to know when wee would come againe, wee appointed the time, gave the children some Apples, and the men
what

7.

what was at hand, they asked more ground to build a Towne together, which wee liked well, and promising our furtherance for them at the Generall Court, wee departed with many welcomes from them.

November 11: 1646. Wee came againe to the same Wigwam, there was a greater concourse, and seats provided for us, wee began againe with prayer in English, and then catechized the younger sort, wee asked them onely three questions in their own language. *1. Who made you and all the world? 2. Who shall save you from sinne and hell? 3. How many commandements hath God given you to keepe?* The Preacher then proceeded, Wee are come to bring you good newes from the great God, and to shew how evill men may come to be good; and be happy while they live, and goe to God when they die; then in familiar descriptions hee set forth God to them in his glorious power, goodnesse and greatnesse, shewing what his will was, and what he required, even of the Indians, in the ten Commandements, and how angry God was for any sinne, yet that hee sent Christ to die for their transgressions, and to pacifie God by suffering in their roome, if they did repent and believe the Gospell, and that hee would love the poore Indians if now they sought God, threatening wrath against all such as stood out and neglected so great salvation, &c. In hearing these things about sinne, and hell, and Christ, one of them shewed much affliction, desiring to conceale his griefe; about an houre thus spent, wee desired them to propound some questions, and the first was by an old man, *If it were not to late for such an old man as hee to repent and seeke after God?* which cleared, *2. They demanded, How the English came to differ so much from the Indians in knowledge, seeing at*

Second coming.

p. 8.

p. 9.

Questions.

p. 10.

P 2

first

- first they had all one father? 3. Being satisfied in this also, they said, *How may wee come to serve God?* which being answered, their fourth question was, *Why the sea water was salt, and the land water fresh?* and their fifth, *If the water be higher then the earth, why did it not overflow it?*
11. a Philosophicall answer was given to this, and they conferred much among themselves about these questions, but night hasting wee desired them to proceed, thereupon one of them said, *If a man hath committed adultery, or stolen goods, and the Sachim doth not punish him, and hee restore the goods, is not all well, will no punishment come from God, as if restitution made God amends?*
12. this answered, wee asked two things. 1. What doe you remember of that spoken to you the last time wee were here? after some speech among themselves, one of them said, They did much thank God for our comming, and the things they heard were wonderfull to them; then Secondly wee said, Do you believe the things we tell you, and that God is *Musquantum*, i. e. very angry for the least sinne in your thoughts, or words, or works? they said yes, and we spake further of the terrors of God against sinners, and his mercy to the penitent, seeking after Christ; night being almost come, considering the Indians desired to know how to pray, and thought that Christ did not understand their language, one of us therefore prayed in their tongue above a quarter of an houre, divers of them holding up eyes and hands, and one of
13. them hung downe his head, with his rag before his eyes, which when hee had wiped, hee held up his head againe, yet such was the power of God upon his heart; that hee hung downe his head againe, covered his eyes, wiping them and weeping abundantly, till prayer was ended, then hee turned to a corner of the Wigwam, and wept more
- weeping In-
112.

more by himselfe, which one of us perceiving, spake encouraging words, hee then wept more and more; when he came out of the Wigwan, wee spake to him againe, hee then fell into more abundant weeping, like one deeply affected, so as wee could not forbear weeping over him also; wee departed greatly rejoycing for such sorrowing. And while I am transcribing this, I know not whether first, to pittie the poore Natives in their spirituall distres, or sympathize with the English in their holy compassion, or praise God more for discovering to the Indians their lost condition by nature, or that hee hath made our Countrey men so industrious in recovering them out of it; however I cannot but remind my Reader of the relators observations hereupon, at least some of them.

Observations.

1. That none of them slept sermon, nor derided Gods Messengers; Woe to those English that are growne bold to doe that which Indians will not, heathen dare not. P. 17.

2. There is need of learning in Ministers, who preach to Indians, much more preaching to gracious Christians, these had sundry Philosophicall questions which could not have bin answered without some knowledge of the Arts; worse than Indian ignorance hath blinded their eyes, that renounce learning as an enemy to Gospel ministeries.

At a third meeting it did appeare that the Indians notwithstanding discouragements from other Indians, did encrease in their desires after the word, and propounded more questions. Third meeting
Novemb. 26.

What is the meaning of the word Humiliation, so often heard of by them in our Churches? Questions.

2. *What a spirit is?*

P 3

3. *Whe-*

3. Whether they should believe dreames?

4. How the English know God so much, and they so little?

p. 19.

Being satisfied in this, they desire a place for a Town. A day or two after *Wampas* a wife Indian offered his own sonne, and three more Indian children, to be trained up by us, saying they would grow wicked at home, and never know God, hee with two other young lusty Indians tendred their service to dwell in some of our families, they are two of those weeping Indians, and they are received into two of the Elders houses, where one of them confessed his former adulterous life, and feared that God would never looke upon him in love; upon our declaring the greatnesse of that sinne, yet hope of pardon through repentance and faith in Christ, hee wept bitterly; the other then present also confessed his like guiltines, & brak out into great mourning, wherein they both continued above halfe an houre. An English youth occasionally lodging in *Waubons* Wigwam the third night of their hearing, assured us he instructed his company in the things he heard, and prayed among them.

p. 20.

p. 22.

While the generall Court was considering where to lay out a towne for the Indians, they consulted about lawes for themselves.

Indian Lawes:

1. If a man be idle a week, at most a fortnight, hee must pay five shillings.

2. If a man unmarried lie with a woman unmarried hee shall pay twenty shillings.

3. If a man beat his wife his hands shall be tied behind him, and be severely punish'd.

4. If a womans haire hang loose, or cut as a mans, she shall pay five shillings.

5. If

5. If a woman goes with naked breasts she shall pay two shillings six pence.

6. All men that weare long locks shall pay five shillings, &c.

They were desirous to know the name of their Town, it was said *Noonanetum*, i. e. rejoycing, because the English rejoyced at their desires to know God, and God did rejoyce at it; this pleased them much. The two honest Indians told us that *Waubon* and the rest used these expressions in prayer, *Take away Lord my stony heart*, another, *O Lord wash my soule*, another, *Lord lead me when I die to heaven*. p. 23.
Indian prayers

December 9. The children being catechized, and that of *Ezechiel* touching the dry bones opened, they offered their children to be instructed by us, complaining they had nothing to give us. We propounded sundry questions to them, and one of them being asked what was sinne, said, a naughty heart, another old man complained of his feares, he purposed to keepe the Sabbath, yet he was afraid whether he should goe to hell or heaven, another complained of other Indians reviling and calling them rogues for cutting off their lockes, for since the word hath wrought upon them, they discern the vanity of their pride in their hair, of their owne accord therefore they cut it modestly. Fourth meeting,
p. 24.
p. 25.

Second Treatise.

THE awakening of these Indians raised up a noise round about, a Sachim from *Concord* side came to *Noonanetum* to an Indian lecture, where the Lord spake so to his heart, that hee desired to cast off his sinnefull courses, The clear shine of the Gospel upon the Indians, &c. by Mr. Shepheard.
1648.

courses, &c. some of his men opposed him therein, he called the chiefe of them about him, and spake to this effect, That they had no reason at all to oppose the way of the English for their good; while you lived after the Indian fashion, what did the Sachims for you? onely sought their owne ends out of you, taking away your skinnes, kettles, and Wampam at their pleasure, but the English care not for your goods, onely seeke your good, &c. Upon this they desired Mr Elliot should come among them and preach, and they framed to themselves certaine lawes for their more religious and civill government.

Orders made
by divers Sa-
chims, at Con-
cord, 1646.

P. 5.

1. *Abusers of themselves by wines or strong liquors shall pay for every time 20 s.*
2. *There shall be no more Powawing, the penalty 20 s.*
3. *They desire to be stirred up to seeke God.*
4. *And understand the wiles of Sathan.*
5. *And detest them.*
6. *That they may improve their time better.*
7. *A lyar shall pay for the first fault 5 s. for the second 10 s. for the third 20 s.*
8. *Against stealing.*
9. *Having more wives than one.*
10. *Against pride.*
11. *For paying their debts to the English.*
12. *Observing the Lords day, prophanners of it pay 20 s.*
13. *VVeare their haire comely as the English, offenders pay 5 s.*
14. *None grease themselves as formerly, penalty 5 s.*
15. *Set up prayer in their VVigwams, before also, and after meate.*
16. *Adultery punish'd with death.*
17. *So wilfull murder.*

18. Not come to an English mans house without knocking.

19. Whosoever beates his wife shall pay 20 s. &c.

Most of these Indians set up prayer morning and evening in their families, before and after meate, keep the Lords day, cut their haire, minister what edification p. 6: they can one to another, manifesting great willingnesse to conformance unto the English fashions.

March, 3. 1647. At the Lecture in Noonanetum, wee saw some Indian women well affected, and considering how unmeet it is for women to aske questions pub. p. 7. likely, they were desired to acquaint their husbands privately therewith, or the Interpreter, the first was propounded by the wife of one Wampooas, Whether said Indian womens Questions, she doe I pray when my husband prayeth, if I speake nothing as he doth, but I like what he saith, and my heart goes with it? The wife of one Toterswampe proposed this, Whether an husband should doe well to pray with his wife, and yet continue in his passions and be angry with her, &c.

An aged Indian complained of an unruly sonne, as- p. 8. king what should be done with him, when hee will not heare Gods word, though his father command him, nor forsake his drunkennesse. An aged Indian told us open. p. 9. ly, that the very things which Mr Elliot taught them of God and his Commandements they have heard some old men speake, &c. and many of them have now this apprehension among them, that their forefathers did know God, but after this they fell into a great sleepe, and when they did awaken they quite forgate him. Another Indian told his dreame, that about two yeeres p. 10. before the comming over of the English, one night hee could not sleepe a good while, then he fell into a dream, thinking he saw a great many men come into those parts cloathed as the English now are, a man rose up among them

them all in blacke, with a thing in his hand, which hee now sees was all one Englishmans booke, hee stood upon a higher place than the rest, on one side the English, and a great many Indians on the other, he told all the Indians that God was *Moosquantum* or angry with them, and would kill them for their sinnes, whereupon himselfe hee said stood up, and desired to know of the blacke man what God would doe with him, and his *Squaw*, and *Papooses*, but hee would not answer him a first time, nor a second, till hee desired the third time, and then hee smiled on him, and said, Hee and his *Papooses* should be safe, God would give unto them *Mitchen*, i.e. victuals, and other good things, and so he awakened.

II.

At *Noenapetum* the Indian men women and children, especially upon the Lecture daies, are clad partly by the gift of the English, and partly by their owne labour. *June, 9.* the first day of the Synods meeting at *Cambridge*, the morning spent in a preparative Sermon to that worke, in the afternoone there was a great confluence of Indians from all parts, to heare, Mr *Elliot* out of *Ephe. 2. 1.* shewed them their miserable condition out of Christ, dead in trespasses and sinnes, pointing unto them the Lord Jesus who onely could quicken them. They then propounded questions.

Indian
questions.

What Countreyman Christ was ?

How far that place from them ?

Where Christ was now ?

How they might lay hold on him ?

And where being now absent from them ?

13.

The English Magistrates, Ministers, and people, were much affected at what they saw and heard. An Indian brake out into admiration, that God should looke upon them that had bin so long in darknesse; *Me wonder*
saith

saith he at God, that hee should thus deale with us.

That winter many questions were propounded.

Why some so bad that they hate those that would teach them?

A Squaw said, might she not goe and pray in the wood alone, when her husband was not at home, because she was ashamed to pray in the Wigwam before company?

To what Nation Iesus Christ came first, and when?

If a man should be inclosed in iron a foot thicke and thrown into the fire, what would become of his soul, would it come forth thence?

Why did not God give all men good hearts?

How long is it before men believe that have the word of God made knowne unto them?

How they should know when their faith and prayers bee good?

Why did not God having all power, kill the devill, that made all men so bad?

If we be made so weake by sinne in our hearts, how can wee come before God and sanctifie a sabbath?

p. 19.

p. 20.

They propounded three cases about the Sabbath.

In the exercises, besides prayer for a blessing, Mr. Elliot doth four things.

1. He catechizeth the children and youth, by which the aged learne.

2. He preacheth out of some Scripture plainly and briefly.

3. If there be cause, admonition follows.

4. They aske us questions and we answer them.

Some cases and admonitions are there mentioned. Indian cases and admonitions, of one beating his wife.

1. *Wampoonas* upon a light occasion beat his wife, for this hee was brought before the Assembly, where the quality of the sinne was opened, as against Gods com-

mand,

21.
 of an unruly
 man recovered.

22.

23.

prayer.

24.
 questions.

mand, cruelty to his owne body, &c. hee turned his face to the wall and wept, hee was so penitent and melting, that all forgave him, but the Indians would have his fine notwithstanding his repentance, which he paid also willingly. Another case of was of *Cutshamaguin* a *Sachim*, who had a son fourteen or fifteen yeeres old, hee was drunk, and behaved himselfe disobediently against his father and mother, they rebuked him, but he despised their admonition, hee was brought before the Assembly, stood out a long time, though his father for his example confessed his owne faults, the young man still persisted, divers of us called upon him to acknowledge his offence against his parents, and entreat their forgiveness, yet he refused; the Indians also affectionately put him on, divers spake one after another, and some severall times, at last hee humbled himselfe, confessed his sinne, and asked forgiveness of his father, taking him by the hand, at which his father burst into teares, he did the same to his mother, who wept also, as did divers others, and many English wept also, the house was filled with weeping, wee went to prayer, all the time thereof the *Sachim* wept so abundantly, that the boord hee stood upon was all dropt with his teares. Some questions were after this propounded.

An old *Powow* asked, *Why we had not taught them to know God sooner?*

Another said, *Before he knew God he was well, but since I have knowne God and sin, I finde my heart full of sin.*

Whether their children goe when they die, because they have not sinned?

If any of them shall goe to heaven, seeing their hearts are so full of sin, especially Nanwundsquas, mad after women?

If they leave *Powaving* and pray to God, what shall they doe when they are sicke, having no skill in *Physick*?

What shall we say to such Indians as oppose our praying unto God, and believing in Christ, what get you say they by this, *P. 25.*
you goe naked still and are as poore as we, our corne is as good as yours, and we take more pleasure then you, &c.

They bring their cases to Mr. Elliot. A Law is now among them against gaming, other Indians demand their old debts, which they refuse to pay because it was a sinne to play, and they must not pay such sinnefull debts. They tooke it to heart when Mr. Elliot told them he was afraid they were weary and cooled in their love to religion, and enquired when they did heare and pray aright, how they might know when they were weary of them, what time it might be before the Lord might come and make them know him, &c. some other cases were moved by them. A man before hee *Indian cases, P. 27.*
knew God had two wives, the first is barren, the second brought forth sweet children, which of these must hee put away? if the former, they offended God, if the latter, they illegitimate their owne deare children? And, a *Squaw* leaves her husband, commits adultery with remote Indians, heares the word, repents, and returns to her husband still unmarried, is not he bound to receive her? An old widdow *Squaw* said, if when men know God, *P. 33.*
God loves them, why then are any afflicted after they know him? *P. 34.*

Mr. Elliot preaching upon *Ephes. 5. 11. Have no fellowship, &c.* They asked what Englishmen thought of him, *P. 35.*
because he came among the wicked Indians and taught them?

Another said, Suppose two men sin, one knowes it, the other doth not, will God punish both alike?

Again, If a wise Indian teach good things to other Indi-

ans, should not he be as a father or brother to such?

37.

One Tutaswampe prayed at the buriall of an Indian child, with such zeale, variety of gracious expressions, and abundance of tears, that the woods rang with their sighs and prayers, the Englishman that heard him, said, hee was ashamed of himselfe and some others, that have had so great light, but want such good affections.

Third Treatise.

ne glorious
ogresse of
e Gospela-
ong the In-
ans, &c.
ublished by
r Winslow,

1649.

an Indian wo-
an living
d dying
Christianly.
6.

THAT woman that propounded the first question according to appointment by another man (2. Treatise, p. 6. *hujus* p. 4.) moved this also.

When my heart prayeth with my husband praying, is this praying to God aright?

7.

This woman kept at home, learned quickly to spinne well, held her children to labour, after she submitted to the Gospel her life was exemplary, she died of a sickness taken in childbed; Mr. Elliot visited her severall times, prayed with her, asked her about her spirituall estate, she said she still loved God though he made her sicke, and was resolved to pray unto him as long as she lived, and to refuse Powawing, shee believed God would pardon all her sinnes, because Jesus Christ dyed for her, that God was well pleased in him, that she was willing to die, believed shee should goe to heaven, and live happy with God and Christ; of her owne accord she called her children, and said to them, I shall now die, and when I am dead, your grandfather, grandmother, and Unkles, &c. will send for you to live among them, and promise you great matters, but I charge you doe

doe not believe them, live not among them, for they pray not to God, keepe not the Sabbath, commit all manner of sinnes, and are not punish't; but I charge you live here, for they pray to God, his word is taught, sins are suppress't, and punish'd by lawes, therefore I charge you live here all your daies, she died, and it fell out as she said. Tis observed many other Indians would come in, but they have neither tooles nor skill to fence p. 8. in their grounds, if the word were constantly taught, government exercis'd, encouragements for the industrious, with meanes to instruct them in letters, trade and labour, as building, fishing, flax, hemp, &c. many well-minded Indians would thus be drawne together. Mr. Elliot stirres up the Ministers to learne the language, and assist in the worke, there is nothing else to invite but the good of soules, not so much as meate, drinke, and lodging to be had among the Indians, but such as wee must carry with us, beside what wee give away to them, &c.

Severall questions they then propounded.

Doth the Devill dwell in us, as we dwell in an house?

p. 10.
Indian Questions.

When God saith honour thy Father and thy Mother, doth he meane three Fathers, our Father, our Sachim, and God?

When a soule goes to heaven what doth it say? And what saith a wicked soule when it comes to hell?

Why did Christ die in our steads?

Why must we love our enemies, and how shall we do it?

How doth Christ redeeme and deliver us from sin, when every day my heart thinkes I must die, and goe to Hell for my sins, what shall I doe in this case?

How long was Adam good before he sinned?

If two families dwell in one house, one prayeth, the other doth

Desires that the Americans

doth not, what shall they that pray do to them that pray not?

Now the Indians desire to go to heaven, what shall we doe that we may goe thither when we die?

How shall I bring my heart to love prayer?

Do not Englishmen spoile their soules to say a thing cost them more than it did, and is it not all one as to steale?

I see why I must feare hell, and do so every day, but why must I fear God?

If I reprove a man for sin, and he answer why do you speak thus angerly, Mr. Elliot teacheth us to love one another, is this well?

If a wife put away her husband because he will pray to God and she will not, what must be done in this case? May such women as pray to God, marry those that do not pray to God?

If my wife doth some worke on the night before the Sabbath, and on the Sabbath night also, is it a sin?

If I do that which is a sin, and know it not to be a sin, what will God say to that?

Whether is faith set in my heart or in my minde?

p. 20.

Why have not beasts a soule as well as man, seeing they have love, anger, &c. as man hath?

Why doth God punish in hell for ever, man doth not so, but after a time lets out of prison againe?

What is faith?

How shall I know when God accepts my prayers?

How doth Christ make peace betwixt God and man, what is the meaning of that point?

In wicked dreames doth the soule sin?

Doth the soule in heaven know things done here on earth?

If my heart be full of evill thoughts, and I repent and pray, and a few houres after it be full againe, and I repent and pray againe, and after this it be full of evill thoughts again, what will God say?

What

What force of wicked men is lawfull, and what not?

What if a Minister weare long haire, as some other men do, what will God say?

Why doth God so hate them that teach others to commit sinne?

If a man will make his daughter marry one she doth not love, what will God say? &c.

There be sundry of them begin to enquire after Baptisme and Church Ordinances, and Mr. *Elliot* with consideration speakes solemnly not suddenly, nor lightly, but before the Lord, As I apprehend, saith he, in my conscience, were they but in a settled way of civility and government, cohabiting together, and I called, according to God, to live among them, I durst freely joyne into Church fellowship with them, and could find out at least twenty men and women in some measure fitted of the Lord for it. That Indian that was Mr *Elliot*s Interpreter, and first taught him words, was joyning himselfe to the Church of *Dorchester*, and the very day of this writing was the day for the triall of that Indian in order to his admission, and this was 2. of the 12. 1648. Since which time these labourers with the Lord have not been idle in this Vineyard, they are digging, and fencing, and gathering out the stones thereof, and planting it with the choicest vine, &c. *Esa.* 5.2. and though some informations of their happy endeavours have unhappily miscarried, there be other passages that have arrived hither, to give us assurance that they wax not faint in that Gospel worke, they are not indeed yet printed, but I have obtained leave to give the Reader a little taste thereof, for as we here long to understand what further footsteps be made, so the discoveries thereof will in due time and better manner be recommended.

R

Mr:

Letter to Mr
Winslow. 18. of
the 8. 1649.

Mr *Elliot* in the beginning of the last spring prepared for his journey among the Indians, to a great fishing place upon *Merimak*, and hired an Indian to mark trees, and pilot him thither, which he did, [with the helpe of some Indians, they passed by other of the Natives, who had heard of his preaching, and were very glad of his comming that way, but sicknesse prevented him at that time; howbeit upon his recovery, he went to another place call'd *Pantuket*, where from all parts they meet, there he asked them if those Indians were desirous to pray to God, and when they said yea, he demanded how many desired it, they answered *Wamee*, i. e. all. The chiefe Sachim of this place had heard him before, and now shewed great affection to him, and the word of God, using many arguments to perswade him to tarry among them, saying, his comming but once a yeere did them little good, it was as if one should come and throw a fine thing among them, and they like it well, but cannot tell what is within, whether something, or nothing, but if it be opened and they see it precious, they should believe it, &c.

Another Indian learning from Mr. *Elliot* that hee had five sonnes, asked him if they should all reach the Indians to know God, as he did, which when hee affirmed, the other was well pleased, and Mr. *Elliot* himselfe much encouraged, for hee had often dedicated them in his prayers to that service of the Lord, desiring no better preferment for them, than to be fitted for that worke, hee endeavours therefore with that smal meanes he hath to traine them up in learning, and God will I doubt not raise up some liberall hearts and hands to assist him therein.

This summer hee was making another journey, but
in

in regard of some quarrells among the Indians, the Church was doubtfull at first of his going, which when the *Nashaway* Sachim heard, he took twenty men armed after their manner, and was his guard, with many other neerer Indians, so much do they hunger after instruction; this was a long journey into the wildernesse of sixty miles, it proved very wet and tedious, so that hee was not dry three or foure daies together night nor day, but the Lord upheld him and his company in strength and health. One of the Indians would needs know of Mr. *Elliot* the reason why they that pray to God, love the Indians. so doing, more than their owne Brethren, and when the rest of them said they all found it so in their hearts, this gave him occasion to discourse to them of the unity of the spirit. They propounded questions.

If a man know Gods word, but believe it not, and yet teach others, is that good teaching, and if others believe that teaching, is that good believing?

And when Mr. *Elliot* asked them *How they could tell, when a man knoweth Gods word, and doth not believe it, they answered, When he doth not in his practise answerable to that he knoweth.*

If I teach on the Sabbath that which you taught us, and forget something, is that a sin?

What should I pray for at night, what at morning, and what on the Sabbath day?

What is true repentance, and how shall I know when it is true?

How must I waite on God?

When I pray for a soft heart, why is it still hard?

Can one be saved by reading the booke of the creature?

When such die as never heard of Christ, whither do they go?

What is the meaning of the name Hebrews, why doth God say he is the God of the Hebrews?

If one purpose to pray, and die before that time, wither goeth his soule?

Doth God know who shall repent and believe, and who not? why then did God use so much meanes with Pharaoh?

What it meanes that, Blessed are they that mourne?

What meaneth lifting up hands to God?

What anger is good, and what is bad?

If a child die before he sin, whither goeth his soule?

If one that prayes to God sin, like him that prayes not, is not he worse?

And while they discoursed of this, and about hating of wicked persons, one of them said, *they must love the man and doe him good, but hate his sin, &c.* For I will not forestall but prepare the publication of those other remarkeable occurrences; and now *expede Herculem*, when this little of those many matters worthy of observation, is seen together, none will call it a *day of small things*, Zach. 4. 10. *Shall we call this a day of small things?* Shall not those poore Natives in New England rise up in judgement against Old England and condemne it? they at once or twice preaching of the Law and Gospel, repent, and weepe, and pray, and heare, and most earnestly enquire after God; but wee, when the Sunshine of truth hath been so long cleare among us, degenerate into those very finnes which they abandon and detest, and with indignation say, *get ye hence*, Es. 30. 22.

They willingly forsake their Powawing, and enchantments; but the devill is broke loose among us, and many desire commerce with those that have familiarity with him.

The Indians set a mulct upon those women that tie
not

not up their haire, that goe with naked breasts, what would they say, what would they doe, if that sex were as immodest as some in this Nation, bepainted, bedaubed, debauched, not more with spots in their faces, then stains in their glory, if Christianity be to them any honour?

The Indians weare their haire comely as the English, and punish those that doe otherwise; there be among us that would account it piacular it should be said of them that in the least they looke *Rome-wards*, yet like those locusts *having the faces of men, they have haire as the hair of women*, Rev. 9. 8. grace is pleased to borrow that from nature, *if a man have long haire, it is a shame to him*, 1 Cor. 11. 14.

Clearer Sun-
shine. p. 5.

Those Natives surely will rise up in judgement with the men of this generation and condemne them; they pray in their families morning and evening, and upon other occasions, they sanctifie the sabbath; wee have those among us, that scoffe and scorne these practises of piety, and call the practisers thereof Duty-mongers.

The Indians desire publike meetings, and delight in the places where God is worship'd and his word is taught; but there be those in this England that make it a great piece of religion to divide and separate, though God himselfe would not have us *forsake the assembling of our selves together, as the manner of some is*, Hebr. 10. 25.

The Indians asked Mr. Elliot, if any teach us good things should wee not love him as a father, or a brother? but tis now among some esteemed a signe of grace, and a badge of holinesse, to despise their teachers, as if that Scripture of truth were never againe to be fulfilled.

2 Treatise. p. 3.

R 3.

They

They mocked the Messengers of God, and despised his words, and misused his Prophets, untill the wrath of the Lord arose against his people, till there was no remedy, 1 Chron. 36. 16. But many other be the sad symptomes of our Englands defection and danger, and our God hath made himself many waies marvelous in New-England, Wee cannot call it a day of small things, Or if at first it was like a little cloud arising out of the sea as a mans hand, 1 King. 18. 44. certainly it carried with it a sound of abundance of raine, ver. 41. even that raine that commeth downe from heaven and returneth not thither but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater; Gods word hath not returned unto him void, it hath accomplished that which he pleased, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I send it, Esa. 55. 10, 11.

Now the blessing of the God of Iacob be upon them and their endeavours, even the blessing of Iacob upon Ioseph, the God Almighty help them and blesse them with blessings of heaven above, blessings of the deep that lieth under, Gen. 49. 25, 26. That God by their meanes may say to the North give up, and to the South keepe not backe, bring my sonnes from farre, and my daughters from the ends of the earth, Esa. 43. 6. so from the uttermost parts shall we hear songs, songs of praise, even glory to the righteous, 24. 16. and not onely glory to the Lord our righteousnesse, but those that winne many to this righteousnesse shall shine as the starres for ever and ever, Dan. 12. 3. and not onely hereafter in that heaven of heavens, but this shall bee told as Englands memoriall, in present and succeeding generations, and those American Nations especially shall call them blessed (Mal. 3. 12.) yea the blessings of them that were ready to perish, will come upon them, Job 29. 13.

for

for they have *done worthily in Ephrata, and are famous in Bethelem* (Ruth 4. 11) and when they be indeed sensible of this great mercy, they will not onely say, *thanks be unto God for this unspeakeable gift*, 2 Cor. 9. 15. But they will long to requite this kindnesse to the English also : and as of old almost all Nations receiving from *Ierusalem* the first meanes of their Christianity, expressed their gratefull mindes by their charitable beneficence upon all occasions to those that dwelt there, this began in the Apostles daies, *Act. 11. 19. Rom 15. 26.* Those of *Macedonia* and *Achaia* distributed to the poor Saints at *Ierusalem*, so it was the use till *Ieromes* (k) ^{k T. 2. Ep. p. 126.} time, that all the Churches of the Gentiles sent collections to the Christians at *Ierusalem*, because they all from thence received first the glad tidings of the Gospel; where the same Christ is preached, there will be the like Christian affections, which likewise will be demonstrable upon every possible opportunity.

Gregory in severall Epistles, not lesse then twenty ^{Lib. 4. Ep. 52. l. 5. 10. 152. &c.} foure, to the great personages of those times, shewes much zeale in this kind, sometimes encouraging them, afterwards commending them for their assistance afforded to that glorious worke, the first conversion of our Countrey men.

Nothing more shall now be added but the praise and practise of (n) *Albertus* the Arch-Bishop of *Hamburg*, ^{n Crantz. Metrop. l. 5. c. 18.} who tooke upon him a resolution to visit in his owne person all the Northerne Provinces, not leaving so much as any one Island unbenefitted by his preaching; when all things were prepared, and his attendants chosen, and shipping ready, hee was disswaded by *Zueno* King of *Denmarke*, who told him those people would sooner be instructed by men of their owne Nation, who were
best

best acquainted with the rites, manners, and language thereof; the Arch-Bishop hereupon dealt earnestly with others to that purpose, and made them most willing to the work, for there was not a man among them whom hee had not encouraged, and by his bounty hee warmed their zeale in publishing the Gospell, frequently repeating that sentence of our Saviour, *The harvest indeed is great, but the labourers are few, pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest, that hee will send forth labourers into his harvest*, Mat. 9. 37. 38. Finally as David to Solomon in the bulding of the Temple, 1 Chr. 22. 16. I wish it were effectually spoken to, and by all the English here and there, *Vp and be doing, and the Lord will bee with you.*

The



*The Relation of Master ANTONIE
MONTERINOS, translated out of
the French Copie sent by
MANASEH BEN ISRAEL.*

THE eighteenth day of *Elul*, in the yeere five thousand foure hundred and foure from the creation of the World, came into this City of *Amsterdam* Mr *Aron Levi*, alias, *Antonie Monterinos*, and declared before me *Manassah Ben Israell*, and divers other chiefe men of the Portugall Nation, neer to the said City that which followeth.

About two yeeres and an halfe agoe, the said *Monterinos* going from the port of *Honda* in the West Indies, to go to the Government of *Papian* in the Province of *Quito*, did hire some Mules of a certaine Indian Mystique, called *Francis du Chasteau*, in which company, together with other Indians, went a certaine owner of Mules who was also called *Francis*, whom all the Indians named *Cacique*, to whom it fell out, passing over the mountaine *Cordecilla*, in a day of great winde and raine, that their carriages fell to the ground, whereat the Indians being grievd, as also at the evill weather, they begin to

Elul is the first moneth of the Jewish yeere answering to our August and to some part of September.

complainte of their ill fortune, saying that they deserved all that, and more also for their finnes, which the said *Francis* hearing answered, that they should have patience, that shortly they should have rest; whereunto they answered that they deserved it not, having used the holy people so ill, and the most noble of all the Nations in the world; but contrariwise that all the cruelties which the Spaniards had used against them did befall unto them for the expiating of that sin; after they were gone a little while, they stopt upon the Mountaine to rest, and passe the night season, at which time the foresaid *Monterinos* did take out of a box some few biskets, some cheese and sweet-meates, and offered some to the foresaid *Francis*, saying to him, take this though thou dost speake evill of the Spaniards, whereunto hee answered, that he had not told the halfe of the hard usage which they received from that cruell and inhumane Nation; but that after a short space they should see themselves avenged upon them by a hidden Nation: after these discourses between them, Mr *Monterinos* arrived at the Town of *Cartagena* in the Indies, where he was taken by the Inquisition and put in prison; one day praying unto God, hee uttered these words, Blessed be the name of *Adonay*, that hee hath not made me an Idolater, a Barbarian, an Ethiopian, nor an Indian; and pronouncing the name of Indian hee reproved himselfe, saying the Hebrewes are Indians; and then comming againe to himselfe said, am not I a foole, how can it bee that the Hebrewes should be Indians? the same fell out the second and third day, making the same prayer and giving the same thanks unto God, whence hee gathered that that fancie did not come to him by meere chance, remembring also that which passed between him

him and the aforesaid Indian; so that hee tooke an oath hee would so informe himselfe of the whole matter, that hee should know the truth, and that comming out of prison hee should instantly seeke the Indian, and would bring to his minde the discourse which they had together, to obtaine by that meanes the satisfaction of his desires. Being then come out of prison by the goodnesse of God, he went to the forenamed Port of *Honda*, where hee had so much good lucke that hee found instantly the foresaid Indian, to whom he made his application, and brought into his memory the discourse which they had upon the Mountaine, whereunto he answered that he had not forgotten it, which *Monterinos* hearing, said that he would goe a journey with him, to which hee answered that hee was ready to doe him service: So the said *Monterinos* gave him three Pataques to buy some provision; whiles then they followed their journey and talked together, the said *Monterinos* at last discovered himselfe unto the said Indian, and told him in these words, I am an Hebrew of the tribe of *Levi*, my God is *Adonay*, and all the rest are nothing but mistakes and deceites; whereat the Indian being somewhat surprized, did aske him the name of his predecessors, whereunto hee did answer that they were called *Abraham, Isaac, Iacob* and *Israel*, which the Indian hearing, did aske of him whether hee had none other Father, hee said yea, and that hee was called *Lodwick* of *Monterinos*; but the Indian being not well satisfied as yet, said these words unto him, on the one side I did rejoyce at that which thou hast said unto me, and on the other I am resolving to disbelieve thee, because thou canst not tell mee who were thy Fathers, whereunto the said *Monterinos* answered with an oath, that the thing

which hee said was truth, having spent some time in questions and answers, and the Indian being wearied at the matter said to him, art thou not the sonne of *Israell*, to which he answered, yea, which the Indian having heard said, make an end then of thy speech, for certainly thou didst put me in such a confusion that I would have been perplexed at it all my life time; nevertheles let us rest a little and drinke, and then follow on our discourse. After a little space, the Indian said unto him, if thou hast the courage and boldnesse to follow me, thou shalt know all what thou desirest, but I tell thee before hand thou must go a foot and eate roasted Mayz, and do that which I shall bid thee, the said *Monterinos* answered, that hee would not at all transgresse his orders; the day following which was Monday, the Indian came to the said *Monterinos*, and bid him take out all that which he had in his pockets, put on his *Alpergatas* (these are a certaine sort of shooes which the Indians weare) and take this staffe and follow him, which the said *Monterinos* did, leaving his cloake and his sword and all what hee had, and so they followed on their way, the Indian carrying on his backe three measures of roasted Mayz, two ropes, the one made with knots and an hooke with two teeth to climbe up by the Mountaine, and the other untied, to be made use of in the Marshes and passages of Rivers, with a little Axe and the *Alpergatas*; they went then after this manner the whole weeke till Saturday on which they rested, and returned to follow their course the whole Sunday and Monday; on Thursday about eight of the clocke they came to a River as broad as the *Duero* in *Spaine*, and the Indian said unto him thou shalt here see thy Brethren, and making a flag of two peeces of Cotten cloath which were their girdles, made a signe,
after

after which they saw a great smoake, and in a moment afterward the same signe with another flagge; and it was not long after that they saw in a Boat comming to them three men and one woman, which being arrived to the banke of the River, the woman leapt a shoare, and the men tarried in the Boate, which after a long discourse which shee had with the Indian, which the said *Monterinos* could not at all understand, went back to the Boate, and told the three men all that shee had heard of the Indian, which came instantly out of the Boate (having alwaies lookt with attention upon him, viz. the said *Monterinos*) and did embrace him, and the woman did the like; after this one of the three men went backe againe to the Boate, and the other two together with the woman did stay there; which comming neer unto the Indian hee did prostrate himselfe at their feete, and they received him with demonstrations of civility and affection, and begun to talke with him; after a little while the Indian said to Mr *Monterinos*, be not amazed, and doe not believe that these men will tell thee a second thing, before thou hast well understood the first; the two men instantly put him between them, and told him the verse following in Hebrew out of *Dent. Chap. 6. vers. 4. Semah Israel Adonay Elohim Adonay Ehad, Heare O Israel the Lord our God is one Lord*; and hee informing himselfe of every thing by the Indian Interpreter, and learning to say it in the Spanish tongue, the two men told him that which followeth, putting a little space of time between one sentence and another.

1. My Fathers are called *Abraham, Isaac, Iacob* and *Israel*, and they named them all foure with three fingers, and then they added *Reuben*, making a sign with foure fingers.

2. All such as will come and dwell with us we will give them lands.

3. *Ioseph* dwells in the mids of the sea, making a signe with two fingers shut, and afterwards dividing the same into two parts.

4. Wee shall all one day speake together, uttering with the mouth *ba, ba, ba*, and shall come forth as the earth had brought us forth.

5. Wee shall goe out from hence shortly (speaking hastily) some of us to looke out, and to make water, and saying these words, they winked with their eies and thrust their feet to the ground.

6. A Messenger shall go.

7. *Francis* shall say somewhat more, making a signe with the fingers, that it would be a little.

8. Give us time to make our selves ready, and shaking their hand on all sides, said with their mouth, and with their hands, stay not long.

9. Send 12 men; making a signe that all shall have beards and be able to write.

These discourses being all ended, which lasted all that day, they came backe and told him the same Wednesday and Thursday, not adding a word more thereunto. And *Monterinos* being wearied, that they answered him nothing to that which hee asked, and that they would not permit him to passe the River, did draw neere the Boate in a dissembling way, and would have cast himselfe therein to goe to the other side, but they thrust her from the shoare with a staffe, and the said *Monterinos* falling into the water hee was in danger of being drowned, because he could not swimme; the men cast themselves suddenly into the water, and drew him out, and shewing themselves angry, said unto him, doe not think

think that thou wilt bring to passe thy purpose by force; which the Indian declared unto him, and they shewed unto him by signes and words.

Notice is to be taken that the Boat for the space of those three daies did not at all stay in one place, but four men went and foure other came, which all of them said the same nine things which we have mentioned, being all the men who during that time came to see him, about 300 more or lesse.

These men are somewhat burnt with the Sunne, some of them weare their haire to their knees, some others shorter, and others as wee use to weare it, faire bodies, good countenances, well made of foot and leg, with a linen about their heads.

Moreover the said M^r *Monterinos* declared, that going from that place on Thursday at night with a great deale of provision which they brought to him, he tooke his leave of them, having been entertained by them, during the three daies which he staid there; and having shewed him how they enjoyed all things which the Spaniards have in the Indies, aswell of meates as of other things needfull for the life of man. Being come the same day to the place where they had lien the night before, M^r *Monterinos* said to the Indian, *Francis*, thou dost know that my Brethren said unto me that thou shouldest tell me something, therefore I pray thee tell it now to satisfie my desire, whereunto the Indian said, I shall tell thee what I know, if thou wilt not anger mee, and shall relate unto thee the truth so as I have heard it from my Ancestors, but if thou dost vex me (which I apprehend, perceiving thee to be so speculatif) thou wilt oblige me to tell thee lies; so then I beseech thee take onely heed to what I shall say unto thee.

Thy

Thy Brethren the sonnes of *Israel* were by divine providence brought into these Countrys, God doing many miracles for them, which thou wouldst not believe, if I should tell them to thee as I have heard them of my Fathers; Wee Indians went into those Countries and made warre against them, and did use them worse then the Spaniards doe us: Afterwards by the command of our Mohanes (these are their Sorcerers) wee went as Souldiers towards those parts where thou hast seen thy Brethren, to wage warre with them, and of all those that entred there, not one came backe againe alive; wee made a great Armie, and entring into his lands, all fell downe dead, so that not one escaped; at last wee raised another Army, for the making of which the Countrey was dispeopled wholly, so that none but old men, women and children remained therein, which came to an end as the former had done; which those who remained alive, and were not gone to that warre perceiving, said, that the Mohanes had deceived them and were the cause of the death of their Fathers, for which they deserved to be put to death, having then killed many of them, those that remained alive did intreat them to hearken to them, and they would discover to them all the truth of that which they knew, which having gotten leave, declared that which followeth.

The God of these sonnes of *Israel* is the true God, all that is written in his stories is true, they shall be Lords of all the world in the latter end, a people shall come hither which will bring many things to you, and when the land shall be well provided, these sonnes of *Israel* shall goe out of their habitations, and shall become Lords of all the earth as it was theirs before, if you will be happy joyne your selves to them. The Indian having

ving made an end to relate the prediction of the Mohanes, followed on his discourse after this manner, My Fathers were Caciques, and there are yet four of them. These 5 Caciques then having heard what the Mohanes had foretold, as if they had been some of the Sages of the Hebrewes, came and tooke their habitation neere that place, to see if they could get acquaintance with some of thy Brethren. They satisfied their desire after a long time by the intercession of an Indian woman : because thy Brethren would never speake to our Fathers, and he of us that went into their Lands, did fall downe dead, and none of thy Brethren did passe over to us ; we therefore made a League with them, by the meanes of that woman, under these conditions. First, that five men, sonnes to five Caciques or their successors, should come to visit them every seventy Moones, and that none should come with them. Secondly, that the man to whom the secret was to be declared, should be three hundred Moones old, and that nothing of this should be revealed to him in a place inhabited, but only in the open field, and when it should be revealed, that it should be in the company of all the Caciques ; thus then (said the Indian) wee keepe this secret amongst us, for the great reward which wee hope, for the innumerable services which wee have done to thy Brethren. Wee cannot go to see them, but from seventy to seventy Moones, if no new thing fall out; there hath not been any in my time except thy arrivall which they have so much desired and waited for. I finde no more but three new things according to my reckoning; the first, the arrivall of the Spaniards in these Countries, the second that Ships arrived in the

South sea, and the third is thy arrivall. Of all three they have greatly rejoyced, for they say that the Prophecies do come to passe.

Moreover the said *Monterinos* declared, that afterward hee came to *Honda*, where the said Indian did bring to him three Indian young men, not telling him their names, till hee told him that hee might speake freely with them, seeing they were his companions, which whom hee was in league, and that the other namely the fift was old, and for that cause was not able to come. The three Indians did imbrace him affectionately, and asked him of what Nation hee was; to whom hee answered, that hee was of the Hebrew Nation, of the Tribe of *Levi*; and then they imbraced him the second time, and said to him, Thou shalt see us one day, and shalt not know us, wee are thy Brethren by a speciall favour which God hath shewed us, and having saluted him they went away: the Indian *Francis* bid him also farewell, and that hee went to speak with his Brethren in the company of the other *Caciques*. As concerning this Countrey, wee have all the Indians at our command, and when wee shall have made an end of these cruell Spaniards, wee shall goe and draw you out of the slavery wherein you are, if it please God; which he will permit, because his word cannot faile.

Finis. Laus Deo.

*I Manasseh Ben Israel underwritten, beare w tnesse,
that this present paper hath been coppied with the whole
truth*

truth of the originall, and that the Author Monterinos
is a vertuous man, and separate from all manner of worldly
interests; and that hee swore in my presence that all that
which he declared was a truth.

MANASSEH BEN ISRAEL.

J. DURY Received this at
London, 27 of Novem.
1649.



The Reader is entreated with his pen to
amend these mistakes of the Presse.

IN the Epistle Dedicatory, remove the note at the bottome of
the Margin in the third page of (b) to the second line of the
next page. Page 5. line 12. read *Comestor*. p. 16. l. 19. r. and un-
easie. p. 18. l. 3. r. *è contra*. p. 21. r. *Witekind* in the margin. p. 21.
r. 16. r. *they were*. p. 22. l. 23. r. *Maternus*. p. 24. l. 19. r. *records*
indeed. p. 32. l. last. r. *thou*. p. 49. l. 28. r. *Israel was*. p. 50. l. 8.
adde, *should so farre, and so suddenly degenerate*. p. 6. l. 32. r.
converting. p. 76. l. 31. r. *for our, the*. p. 80. l. 20. r. *your charity*.
p. 93. l. 13. r. *Leitourgy*. and l. 15. r. *pray that*. p. 93. l. 15. r. *holy*
Spirit. *Our books tell us*. p. 107. l. 30. r. *too late*. p. 118. l. 11. r.
hays. p. 113. p. 126. l. 4. r. 16, &c. p. 136. l. 12. r. *their lands*.

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